

THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammar al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

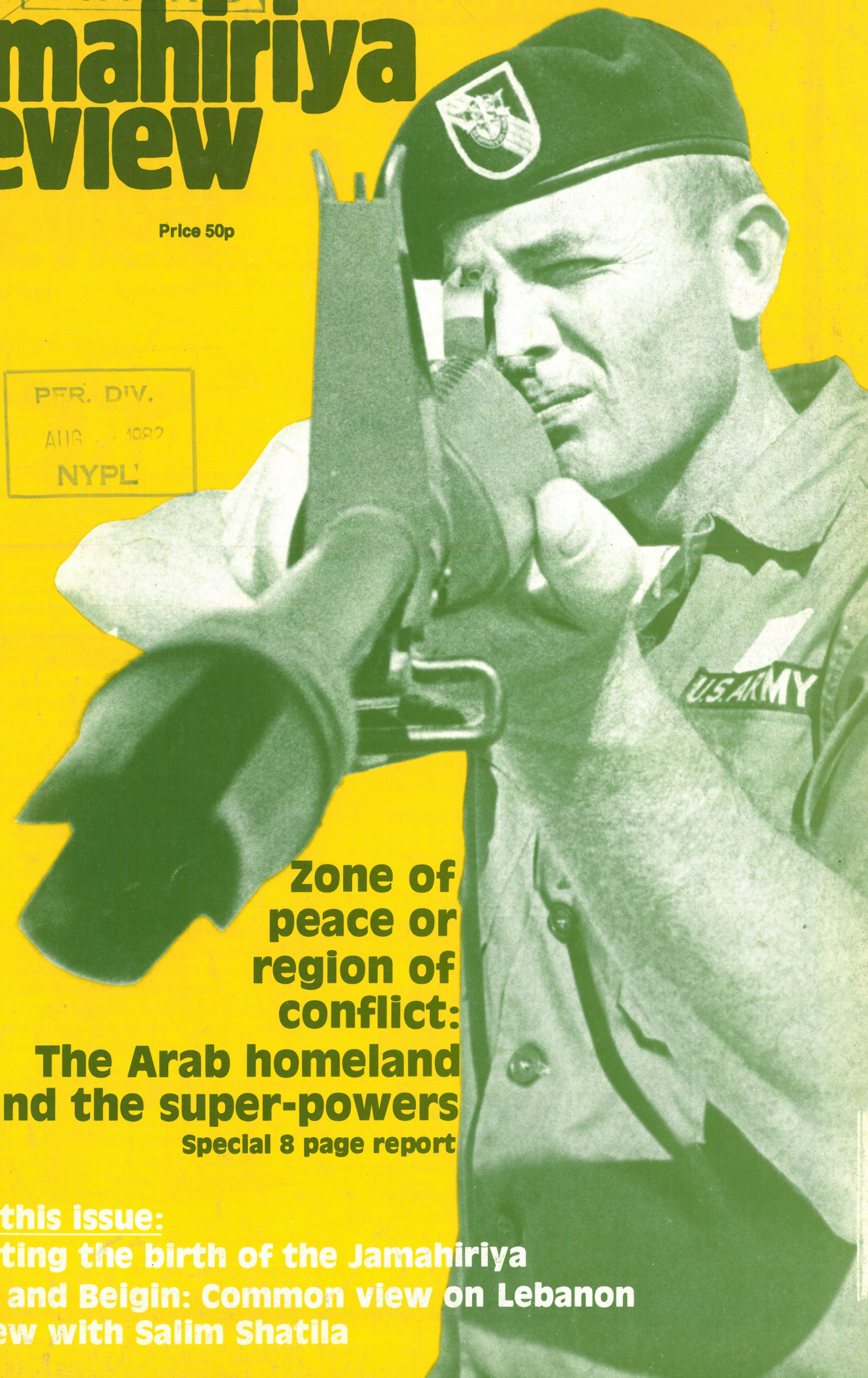
Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

April 1981

Price 50p

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**Zone of
peace or
region of
conflict:**

**The Arab homeland
and the super-powers**

Special 8 page report

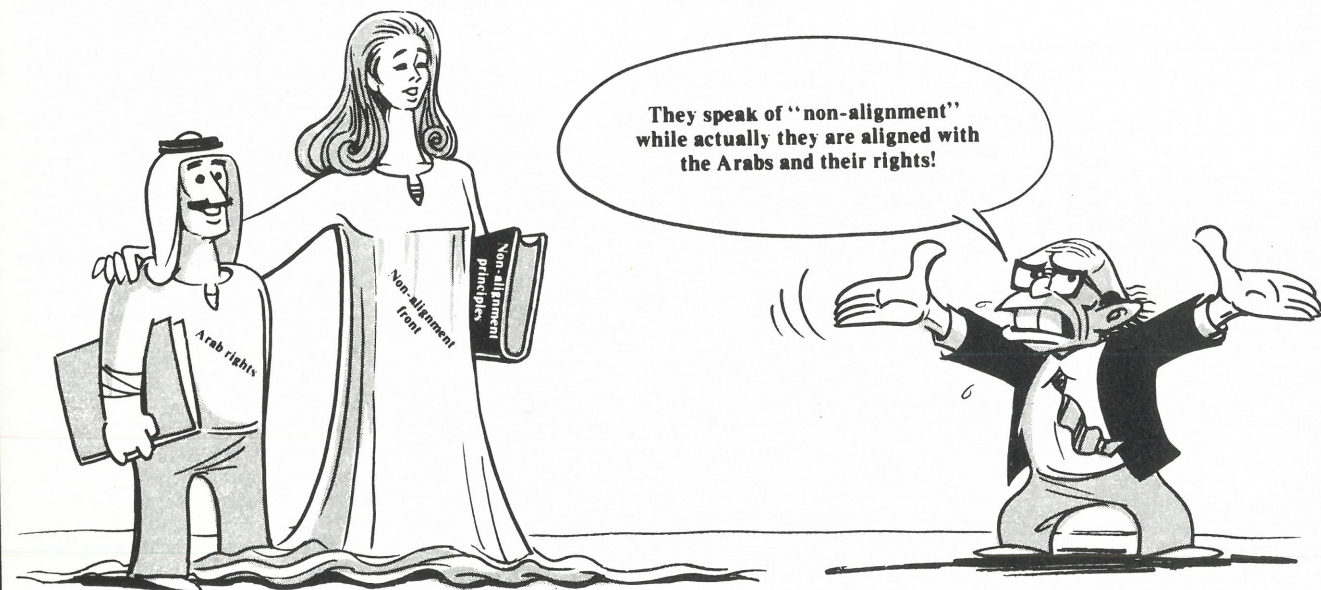
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Celebrating the birth of the Jamahiriya

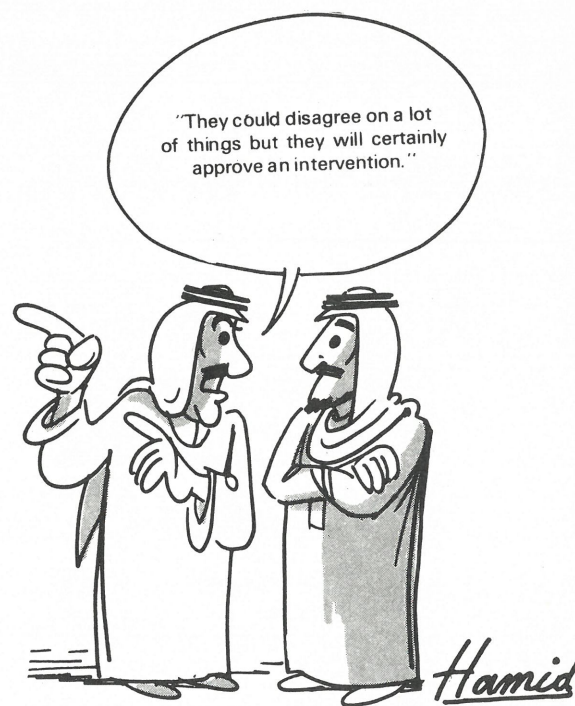
Reagan and Beigin: Common view on Lebanon

Interview with Salim Shatila

Cartoon Comments



Differences between the US and Europe on the formation of the Rapid Intervention Force.



jamahiriya review

Issue No 11

April 1981

COVER STORY: The massive build-up of American bases in the Arab homeland planned by the Reagan administration is set to pose the most serious challenge to the non-alignment of the Arab states. Louis Eaks looks at the American plans, and reports that the concept of a Rapid Deployment Force is now giving way to the permanent basing of American forces on Arab territory. The consequences of Reagan's moves are to thrust the Arab homeland into the heart of the East-West power struggle, and place the Arab nation in the front line of possible US provocations against the Soviet Union. Report starts on page 9.

DESTABILISATION TARGET: A special correspondent looks at the concerted destabilisation campaign aimed at the Libyan Jamahiriya, and orchestrated by the United States. If Reagan fails in El Salvador, he may take his 'stand' on Libya, in an attempt to make the Jamahiriya the Chile of the 1980s. Report starts on page 13.

APRIL ESSAY: Although the Americans claim a Soviet threat to the Arab homeland to justify their military build-up Ali Aziz suggests the effects will be to place the Arab nation under American occupation. The target, he argues, is not the Soviets, but control of the Arab people to serve American interests. See page 15.

LEBANON REPORT: The situation in Lebanon is reviewed on page 16, against the background of the upsurge in Israeli backed attacks on south Lebanon, and fears that Menachim Beigin may launch a new invasion in a final bid to win at the polls. On page 17, Salim Shatila confirms that Israel is preparing an invasion plan.

Published by Jamahiriya Review, 13A Hillgate Street, London W8 7SP. Telephone: 01-727 3131. Telex: 892830 Event G. Printed by W F Aldridge & Company Limited, London SW16 6NW. We acknowledge the co-operation of the Jamahiriya News Agency, JANA, in providing its daily information bulletin.

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PHOTOS: Cover by James Pickerell, Camera Press, London. Photograph of Muammer Qadhafi on page 8 by Ron McKay, Camera Press.

Celebrating the birth of the Jamahiriya

LAST MONTH the Libyan Arab people gathered in towns and cities throughout their country to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Jamahiriya, which gave concrete expression to the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution and the principles expounded by Libya's revolutionary leader, Muammer Qadhafi.

Although the Jamahiriya is the boldest experiment in popular democracy, the realities of its implementation have not been well studied and reported by the international media. Yet although the birth of a new political system is a dramatic step to be taken by any people, the record of the past four years signifies that it is worthy of serious study and emulation by other peoples throughout the world.

On the one hand there are those countries with their parliamentary democracies such as Britain; the shortcomings of such a system are increasingly evident, neither providing a true representation of the citizens' political views, or allowing the citizens direct access to the decision making process. On the other hand much of the world today is under the alternative tyranny of dictatorship, with tens of thousands of allegedly free people living their lives at the whim of a single man, whether he shields behind the façade of a king or a president.

The birth of the Jamahiriya opened wide the doors to authority to each and every Libyan citizen. Authority is vested not in a national leadership, but in the individual who can influence the decisions of the country through the basic people's congresses existing in every area of the country. Nor is the supreme legislature, Libya's General People's Congress, a forum remote from the views of the people — those attending bear the responsibility of expressing only the views of their basic congresses.

Moreover, the Al Fateh Revolution recognised that democracy is not simply about the political system of a country. It must penetrate every decision making process in society from the legislature to the factory, from the office to the university and educational system.

Socialism in its true sense it is; state socialism, centralised in the hands of state capitalists it is not. The very philosophy of the revolution recognised that the wealth of a country cannot be rightfully held by a few people, increasing their wealth through the exploitation of the labour of others or as a result of their control over market forces in supplying consumer goods. Profits created by the workers rightfully belong to those who invested their labour.

Unlike state socialism, the Libyan *jamahiri* system does not stilt initiative; through the open participation of the citizens

it generates pride in the country, the success of its development, and the well-being of fellow-citizens. Few of these characteristics exist in capitalist society unless motivated by personal profit.

The current multi-billion dollar five year development programme launched in the Jamahiriya this year is a testament to the working of the *jamahiri* system. Over a period of many months the basic people's congresses prepared details of the requirements for their communities: factories for employment, schools for the children, universities and vocational training centres to meet the demands of new industries and for Libyanisation at management levels, housing and health facilities for a modern welfare state, and other matters concerning urban and rural planning and the quality of life which a development programme can either enhance or destroy. The plan is not a benevolent hand-down from central planners, but the result of a lengthy process of discussion, an interaction between central and local committees and congresses. It is a complex document which shows the Libyan people's ability to hold the reins of authority with responsibility.

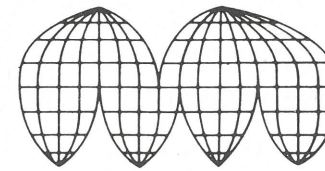
In its four years of operation the General People's Congress has shown its independence. Secretaries (as ministers became) have been replaced, others have come under harsh criticism, and foreign relations on the international level have been broken.

So given the scope of democracy in the young Libyan Jamahiriya, what is the basis of the movement opposing the revolution which has based itself in Cairo, London and other foreign capitals? These people do not readily identify themselves, but in general they belong to a class which is incompatible with the new order in Libya. They are merchants and small businessmen, whose wealth from the exploitation of man's labour and their profiteering in Libya's boom economy would in a normal society give them privileges and political power. Today money is not the key to authority in the Jamahiriya. Others have lost their personal power achieved from patronage under the old system, and a third element are those who profited from bribes and embezzlement but can no longer do so.

Such elements are an insignificant minority unwilling to become equals with their fellow citizens in the decision making processes of the Jamahiriya. Once the exploiters of the Libyan people, a role which they dream of resuming, today they are exploited by foreign powers who fear the Libyan Jamahiriya's message to an oppressed world that dignity and freedom can be found by those who are ready to face the challenge of imperialism.



A monthly review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review

Rejection of hijacking leads to Libya's refusal over freed Pakistani prisoners

LIBYAN LEADER Muammer Qadhafi has told newsmen why the Jamahiriya refused permission for a plane carrying prisoners released from Pakistani jails to land at Tripoli airport on 14th March. The plane, flying via Aleppo in Syria, was carrying 54 prisoners freed in exchange for more than 100 hostages held on a Pakistani airliner at Damascus, hijacked 12 days earlier by opponents of General Zia's regime.

The plane carrying the released prisoners took off for Tripoli after a high ranking Pakistani negotiating official had said Libya was prepared to accept the freed prisoners, but Qadhafi, speaking at a Tripoli news conference on 15th March, denied any knowledge of any such undertaking. He said Libya had turned back the plane because there was insufficient information about the nature of the released prisoners. 'We have no clear information about this incident: who hijacked the plane, who was on it, whether the prisoners were political people or ordinary criminals,' he said. 'We could not involve ourselves in this issue.'

On the general question of hijacking, the Libyan leader expressed the Jamahiriya's abhorrence of 'taking innocent people as hostages'.

A comment by Libyan Director of Overseas Information, Khalifa Azzabi, suggested that the decision to refuse landing permission also reflected Libya's weariness of being branded by the western media as a supporter of terrorism. On 16th March Mr Azzabi told Reuters: 'We definitely don't like to be associated with terrorism and we absolutely condemn it'. He added 'Everybody accused us of harbouring terrorists. Now we have refused this plane, so let's wait and see what the world is going to say.'

Charges of Libyan involvement in the hijacking — undertaken by a group calling itself the Pakistan Liberation Army — were rife



Hijack rebuff from the Jamahiriya

in the imperialist press during the 13-day hijack. Libyans found particularly objectionable an article in the London *Guardian* on 11th March, alleging that the hijacking had been organised by Murtaza Bhutto, son of former Pakistani Premier Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (who was executed by Zia), with the assistance of Colonel Qadhafi and the international terrorist known as 'Carlos', who, the paper claimed, had found refuge in the Jamahiriya.

In a letter published on 13th March drawing attention to the spurious comment of the article, Dr Omar Sodani, writing on behalf of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in London, vigorously denied any Libyan complicity in the hijacking and rebutted the paper's claim that 'Carlos' was to be found in the Jamahiriya.

The People's Committee firmly rejected the paper's 'implicit suggestion that Libya is a recruiting ground for would-be hijackers', saying: 'On the contrary, neither the Libyan people nor their leaders have any wish to be involved in hijacks.' Dr Sodani concluded by challenging the *Guardian* to produce any evidence whatsoever to connect Libya with the hijacking of the Pakistani airliner.

Documents reveal covert US operations

A GROUP of French intellectuals in early March released several documents to support charges that undercover US Central Intelligence Agency operations are responsible for civil strife in El Salvador and elsewhere in Latin

America. The documents included a report called 'A Dissident Paper on El Salvador and Central America' in which unnamed high US officials reported details of secret plans to combat nationalist movements in Central America. Also released in Paris were press statements and excerpts from various publications blaming the CIA for efforts to destabilise regimes considered unfriendly to Washington.

The French group, calling itself the Association for the Right to Information, also made fresh charges against US policies, saying that powerful US and other western interests are deliberately suppressing truthful information or spreading wrong information.

Mr Antoine Blanco, the French Socialist Party representative in charge of Latin America, accused US news agencies of distributing a report on the recent Panama session of the Socialist International announcing approval of a motion which had in fact been withdrawn. The draft motion had denounced intervention in Central America by the Soviet Union, the United States and Cuba, said Mr Blanco. The news agencies never reported the Socialist International's final resolution, he said, which made no reference to Soviet or Cuban intervention. He said the CIA was presently trying to 'destabilise' the Socialist International to prevent it from supporting nationalist movements.

The documents detailing the covert operations of the CIA and the reports of western manipulation of news are particularly pertinent in view of Washington's virulent propaganda campaign which alleges that the Libyan Jamahiriya indulges in interference in foreign states — a charge vigorously denied in Tripoli.

Qadhafi condemns terrorist groups

AGAINST THE backdrop of the western propaganda campaign seeking to portray the Libyan Jamahiriya as a supporter of 'international terrorism', Libyan revolutionary leader Muammer Qadhafi has roundly condemned terrorist acts perpetrated by the Red Brigades in Italy, West Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang, the Basque separatist group ETA and the IRA. At the same time, he drew clear distinctions between the aims of the four groups.

In an interview with Rome radio on 10th March, Brother Qadhafi said Libya saw the Red Brigades and the Baader-Meinhof group purely as terrorists, and had no sympathy whatsoever for them. The Basque separatists were different, said the Libyan leader, in that they had a clearly defined and limited objective — independence from Spain. He nevertheless stressed his country's total opposition to acts of terrorism perpetrated by the Basque movement and to its demand for secession. Libya, he said, supported Spanish national unity. The Basque issue was an internal Spanish affair, said the Libyan leader, and the Jamahiriya did not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

In defending Spanish national unity, Brother Qadhafi was reiterating the Jamahiriya's position as stated last November when, rejecting allegations of Libyan assistance for the Basque separatists, he was quoted by Madrid radio as saying: 'Our country defends national unity, ►

► and we are completely opposed to separatism.'

The Libyan leader expressed strong opposition to the terrorism practised by the IRA but, implying that Libya saw the group as an authentic liberation movement, he said the Jamahiriya supported the IRA's basic objective — Irish independence from British rule.

'The IRA, which we support, is different from the other three [groups],' he said, adding: 'We support the just demands of the people, but condemn terrorism.'

New people's bureau for Monrovia

THE GOVERNMENT of the West African state of Liberia has recognised the Jamahiriya's establishment of a people's bureau in the capital, Monrovia, it was announced by the Libyan Foreign Ministry on 6th March. It is the latest move in a process of abolishing Libya's traditional embassies overseas into offices manned by committees of ordinary Libyans, who are able to meet with foreign peoples on a face-to-face basis, without intermediaries such as ambassadors. Since Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi's call in his 1st September speech last year marking the eleventh anniversary of the Al Fateh Revolution, in which he called for a stepping up of the transformation of the embassies, more than twenty new people's bureaux have been created.

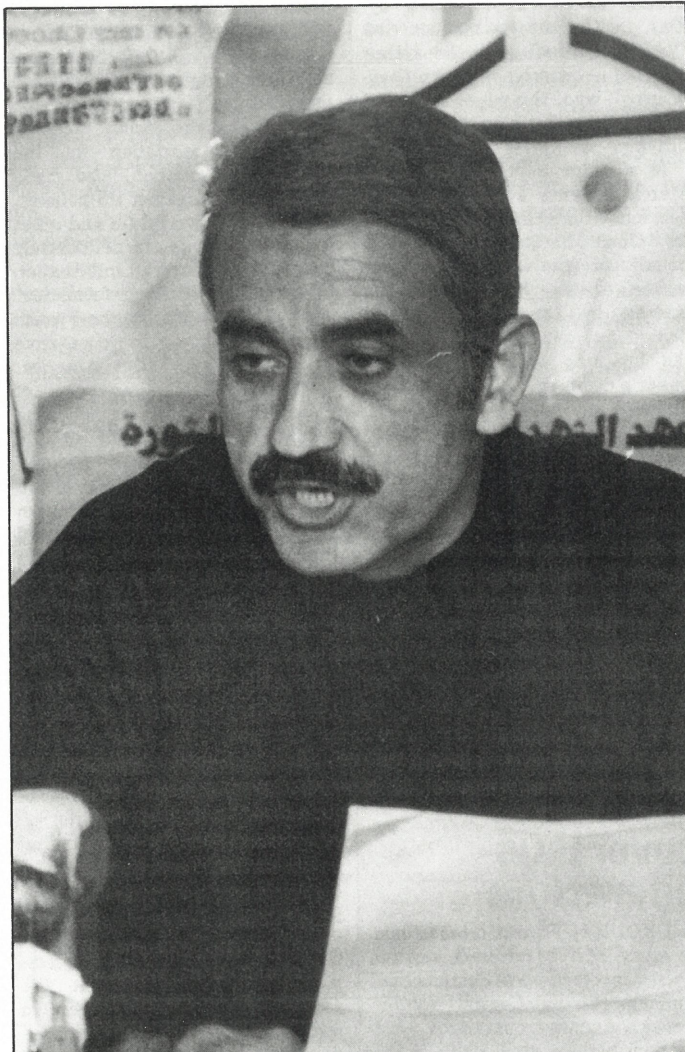
Habash in good health after treatment in Libya

DR GEORGE Habash, Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), is soon expected to return to Beirut and resume his political activities after recovering from an illness which many feared would leave him semi-paralysed and unable to speak. Dr Habash, who is undergoing a final course of treatment in the Libyan Jamahiriya, entered the American University Hospital in Beirut last July suffering from a complicated affliction of his lymph glands. He was taken to Prague in September amid stories that he was already in a state of semi-paralysis and 'untreatable'. The radical Palestinian leader arrived in Libya on 17th February having made, by all accounts, a remarkable recovery at the hands of a team of Czech specialists. His first public engagement since the onset of his illness was a 25th February meet-

ing with Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi.

In a 13th March interview with the Lebanese daily *As Safir*, which marked his first meeting with journalists since he was taken to hospital, Dr Habash discoursed at length on regional and international issues bearing on the Palestine question, setting out his ideas with his habitual clarity. He concentrated in particular on the forthcoming meeting of the 550 member Palestine National Council (PNC), due to begin in Damascus on 11th April. The PFLP is expected to rejoin the PLO Executive Committee during the PNC session after an absence of nearly seven years.

The PFLP withdrew from the Executive Committee in September 1974 after the PNC had approved a programme which for the first time sanctioned the principle of a Palestinian state in only part of Palestine. The PFLP judged that such a move — the creation of a state on the West Bank, for example — would mean the relinquishment of armed struggle to liberate the whole of Palestine and would involve the tutelage of the conservative or reactionary Arab regimes.



Dr George Habash: Recovering in Libya

Rome airport shooting 'a criminal act'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has issued a strong denunciation of the incident at Rome airport on 23rd February when four men were wounded after gunmen fired shots at passengers from a Kuwait Airlines flight. Two Libyans, one suffering gunshot wounds, were arrested following the shooting. Two other Libyans and an Algerian were in a serious condition after being hit in the crossfire between the gunmen and police.

Predictably, the western media, not taking the trouble to check the facts, launched into allegations of the Jamahiriya's involvement in the incident. In fact, according to Rome radio on 24th February, the gunfight had no political dimensions whatsoever, and was over drugs.

In a statement broadcast on 28th February, the Libyan Foreign Liaison Bureau issued a firm denunciation of the incident and of the Libyan gunmen involved. The statement said: 'The Foreign Liaison Bureau strongly condemns this terrorist act which affected

international civil aviation traffic and threatened the security and safety of innocent airline passengers.'

Describing the attack as a 'criminal act', the Foreign Liaison Bureau firmly denied any links between the Jamahiriya and the gunmen, saying they were 'outlaw elements that represent no one save themselves.'

The statement condemned the attempts of the western media to implicate the Jamahiriya in the shooting, describing these efforts as 'base attempts aimed at giving a false picture detrimental to the Jamahiriya.'

US university shuns Islam and Arabs

IN AN extraordinary move, Washington's Georgetown University has returned to the Libyan Jamahiriya \$600,000 received as grants over the past four years to endow a professorship at the institution's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, saying that the university did not want its name associated with a country which, it alleged, engaged in routine violence and terrorism.

The University President, Timothy Healy, returned the money personally to Mr Ali Houderi, Secretary of the Libyan People's Bureau in Washington. 'It was painful for him,' said Mr Healy, 'and it was painful to me.' He added that Mr Houderi had been saddened by the action but had accepted the cheque with courtesy, expressing the hope that the move would not damage relations between the peoples of the US and the Jamahiriya. 'He [Mr Houderi] was completely correct,' said Mr Healy. 'He said he received it with regret, and hoped it would not stand in the way of good relations between the United States and Libya.'

Dr Hisham Sharabi, the distinguished Palestinian academic who holds the professorship financed by the Jamahiriya, expressed his astonishment at the university's decision, saying the Libyans were 'very decent, very thoughtful, very considerate very correct' in financing the scholarly chair. 'This whole thing is something out of the blue,' said Dr Sharabi, adding: 'It's very strange.'

This remarkable rebuff to Libya's consistent efforts to create a better understanding of Islam and the Arabs in western countries was condemned by the Jamahiriya News Agency on 27th February as a 'financial and racist' move that demonstrated that attitudes hostile to Islam and the Arabs, dating from the days of the Crusades were still widespread in the West.

Search for minefields launched

LIBYA IS conducting a country-wide survey to determine the location of land mines and other explosive devices left behind from the Second World War, the Jamahiriya New Agency reported on 27th February. The survey, being organised by Tripoli's Centre for the Study of Libyan Resistance to the Italian Occupation, also aims at the preparation of a detailed inventory of the losses in life and property suffered by the Libyan people as the result of the World War II battles fought across their territory by the European powers.

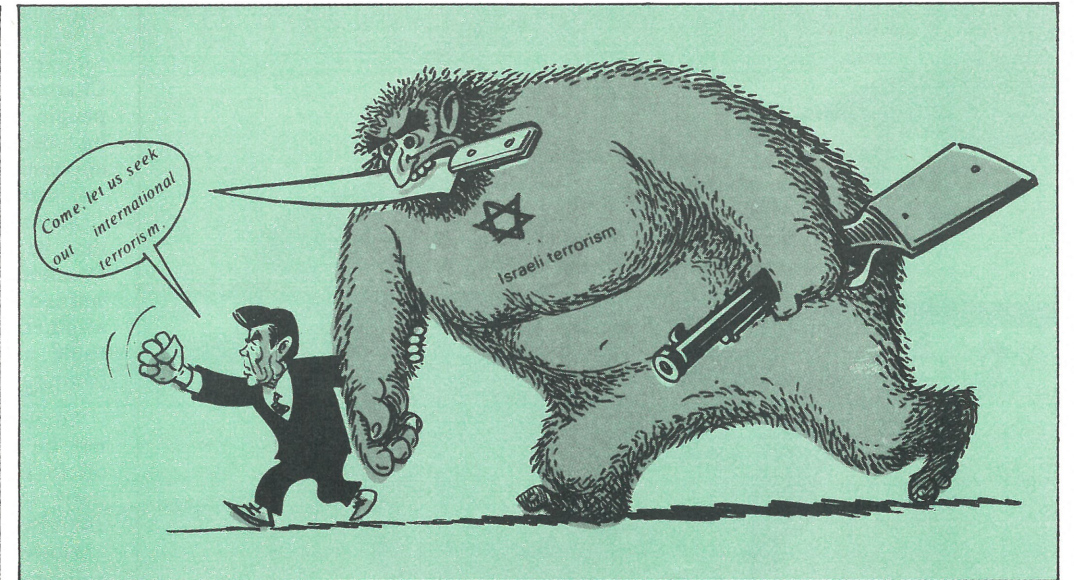
The thousands of bombs and mines left in Libyan soil are still causing deaths and injuries amongst Libyans. The continuing danger was underlined by the discovery on 10th March of a large number of bombs in the north eastern coastal town of Tobruk, the scene of some of the fiercest fighting between Allied and Axis forces.

The Jamahiriya has for some time been seeking compensation from the British and West German governments for damages suffered by the Libyan people during World War II, and for the subsequent casualties caused by the detonation of mines and unexploded bombs left behind from the war. As well as seeking damages, Tripoli has appealed for British and German maps which would guide bomb disposal squads to the minefields. Late last year Germany informed the Foreign Liaison Bureau of its readiness to consider both the compensation claims and the request for assistance in clearing minefields. Britain has so far remained silent.

Rwanda Islamic centre to open in June

THE JOINT United Arab Emirates — Libyan commission for Islamic cultural centres, meeting in Abu Dhabi in February, fixed 1st June this year for the opening of the Islamic centre in the African state of Rwanda. The commission also decided to invite tenders for the construction of Islamic centres in Togo and Malaysia.

The Jamahiriya's team at the meeting was headed by Muhammad al Gamoudi, Secretary of the Abu Dhabi Bureau of Arab Fraternity, which replaced the former Libyan embassy. The UAE team was headed by Under-Secretary in the Justice, Islamic Affairs and Awqaf Ministry, Mr Saqr al Murri. Also present was the commission's Secretary-General, Mr Tahir al Shuwaidhi.



Merger plan on course

THE CONTINUING commitment of both the Libyan Jamahiriya and Syria to their planned merger has been highlighted in a speech by Syrian President Hafez Assad marking the anniversary of the 1963 revolution that brought the Ba'ath Party to power. Speaking on 8th March, President Assad declared: 'We and our brothers in the Jamahiriya have agreed to act rather than just talk. The two leaderships are working seriously on achieving unity.'

He stressed, 'We are basically searching for a formula that achieves unity with a real popular content.'

The falsity of rumours being circulated in the western media to the effect that the planned merger is foundering was also underlined in a 12th March statement by Syrian Premier Abdul Rauf al Kassam, reporting good progress in the merger preparations. The unity agreement came last September and the delay in its implementation, which sceptics have sought to present as a sign of the project's imminent demise, stems from the desire of both parties that it should be based on very thorough and detailed preparations to ensure its viability. This desire was reflected in the Syrian Premier's statement that 'the unity action is a giant task and should be based on strong foundations'.

Listening to the Syrian President's speech in Damascus were the members of the joint Libyan-Syrian unity committee, formed last December to prepare the framework for the merger. The committee held a four-day series of meetings in the Syrian capital that ended on 11th March with an announcement that an important step had been achieved with the drafting of the 'framework,

institutions and tasks of the unitary state'. It was reported that the committee will be holding its next meetings in Tripoli shortly.

The unity committee's meetings in the Syrian capital came amid a flurry of diplomatic activity relating to the merger project. On 1st February Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi held talks with Syrian Foreign Minister Abdul Halim Khaddam in Tripoli. Also present were Mr Abdel Ati al Obeidi, Secretary of the Jamahiriya's Foreign Liaison Bureau, and Dr Abdel Salam al Treiki, Libya's Secretary of Liaison for Foreign Affairs. On 20th February it was reported that Justice Secretary Muhammad Abu al Qasim az Zuwayy was holding three days of talks on the merger in Damascus. Muammar Qadhafi had another meeting with the Syrian Foreign Minister in Tripoli on 25th February, at which a message from Syrian President Assad was passed to the Libyan revolutionary leader. In the first two weeks of March Dr Treiki made two visits to Damascus for talks with Syrian officials.

Further links between the Libyan and Syrian peoples are being forged by trade union organisations in the two countries. On 25th February a delegation from the Jamahiriya's Producers' Union ended a visit to Syria with a joint communiqué with the Syrian General Trade Union pledging their commitment to the unity project and announcing that committees would be established to consider the structure of unions in the unitary state.

The great importance attached to the union by the Arab People's Congress — an unofficial grouping of progressive Arabs from all parts of the Arab homeland — was stressed in a communiqué issued on 25th February at the end of its first session of the year, held in Damascus.

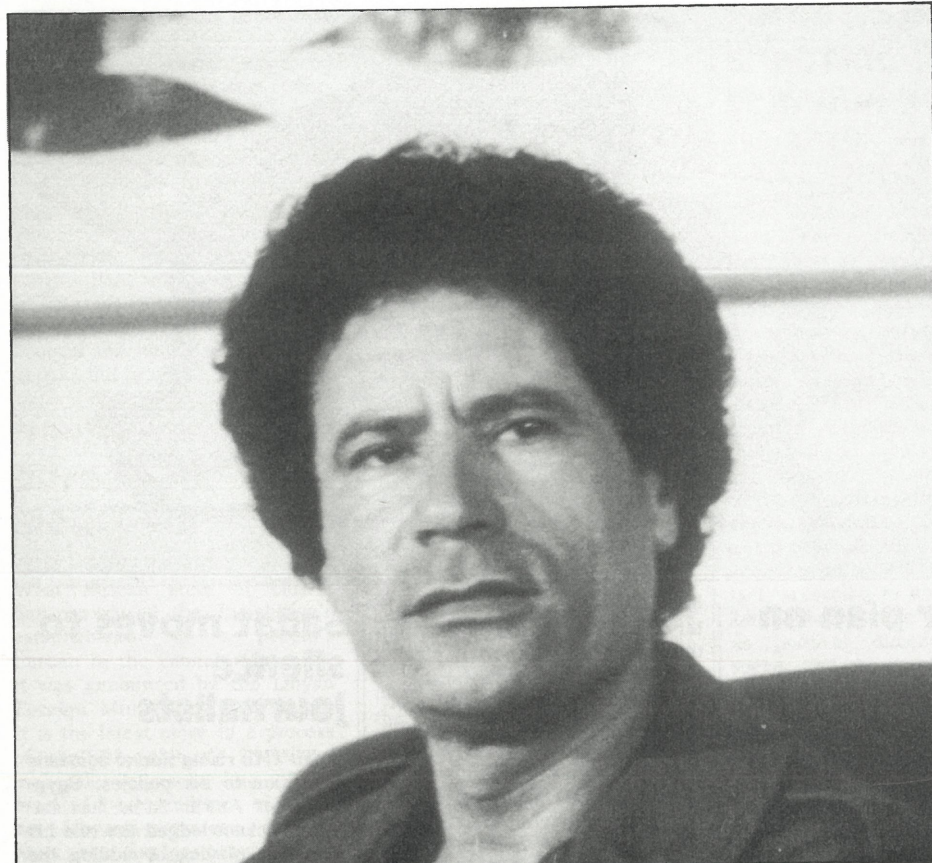
Sadat moves to silence journalists

AMID THE rising tide of domestic opposition to his policies, Egyptian ruler Anwar Sadat has implicitly acknowledged the role his regime is playing in ridding the country's journalists' union of opposition elements. In a speech delivered on 1st March to mark the inauguration of the 'Maio' printing house, Sadat attacked the current leadership of the union, saying that it was impossible for what he called 'heretical communists' to head any such organisation in the country.

'Maio' — or May — takes its name from the month in 1971 when Sadat eliminated the progressive opposition faction within his regime, and thus established his autocratic rule. The printing house is owned by his National Democratic Party.

Many of the leaders of the journalists' union, including its Chairman, Kamal Zuhairi, are currently facing prosecution for their part in protests at the presence of an Israeli stall in January's International Book Fair held in Cairo.

At the same time, a campaign is under way to ensure that in the union's forthcoming elections, journalists close to Sadat's political thinking gain the most influential posts. In his speech, Sadat said the current leadership's opposition to the regime ran counter to the opinions of most of the journalists in Egypt, and claimed they were therefore unfit to occupy their posts. He branded them as 'communists' wielding such potential influence over public opinion, signalling the possibility that Zuhairi and his colleagues may be disqualified from standing in the union's elections on account of their action at the book fair.



Muammar Qadhafi: Legitimate role in Chad

Jamahiriya will back those opposing foreign penetration

MUAMMER QADHAFI, the Libyan leader, was in the southern city of Sebha during early March for celebrations marking the fourth anniversary of the establishment of the Libyan Jamahiriya. In a series of speeches he spoke of Libya's response to its critics, and its readiness to defend the Arab homeland from American penetration.

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya will not hesitate to put all its resources behind those movements opposing the American military-build-up in the Arab homeland, and will use its economic resources for the common good to block intrigues from other foreign countries attempting to undermine the independence of Africa and the Arab nation.

This was the message delivered by Muammar Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, in a series of speeches during March marking the fourth anniversary of the foundation of the Libyan Jamahiriya, the establishment of a state based on popular democracy through which all Libyan citizens participate in the decision-making process whether it be concerning the country's domestic and foreign policies or the working of centres of production and commerce.

Coinciding with the anniversary was the conference of Libya's Revolutionary Committees, to which Muammar Qadhafi spoke in the southern city of Sebha.

The Libyan leader told a 2nd March rally that Libya's role in neighbouring Chad was a legitimate one, following a request from the recognised Chadian government for support in ending the uprising staged by the Egyptian backed rebel Hissan Habre. Muammar Qadhafi also stressed that Libyan forces would be withdrawn from Chad as soon as the security of the country was assured.

The moves towards close union between Libya and Chad, the Libyan leader reminded his audience, were in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity, which specifically approved all moves aimed at

unifying the African continent.

'We are an African people who have a sacred right, according to the OAU Charter, to establish unity with the Chad people, since they are an African people,' he declared. Those African regimes opposed to the scheme he described as 'an insult to international society'.

Although Libya has always stressed that its economic aid programme is not attached to political strings, Qadhafi warned that countries which directly attacked the Libyan Jamahiriya's policies could not expect the aid programme to continue without re-examination.

Similarly, he asserted that Libya could not be expected to continue to provide oil to European countries which were a party to a hostile campaign against the Jamahiriya.

However, the situation of each country will be carefully evaluated by the people's authority in the Jamahiriya. In his speech Qadhafi balanced the 'black and dirty role' of France with the need to recognise that country's positive efforts to formulate a foreign policy independent of the United States, and its generally friendly stance towards the Arab nation.

Turning to the American threat to the Arab homeland posed by the current build-up of US bases in the region, the Libyan leader told the conference of Revolutionary Committees on 3rd March of the need for 'a strategic counter-attack against imperialism and the [US] bases in Somalia, Egypt, Oman and occupied Palestine'.

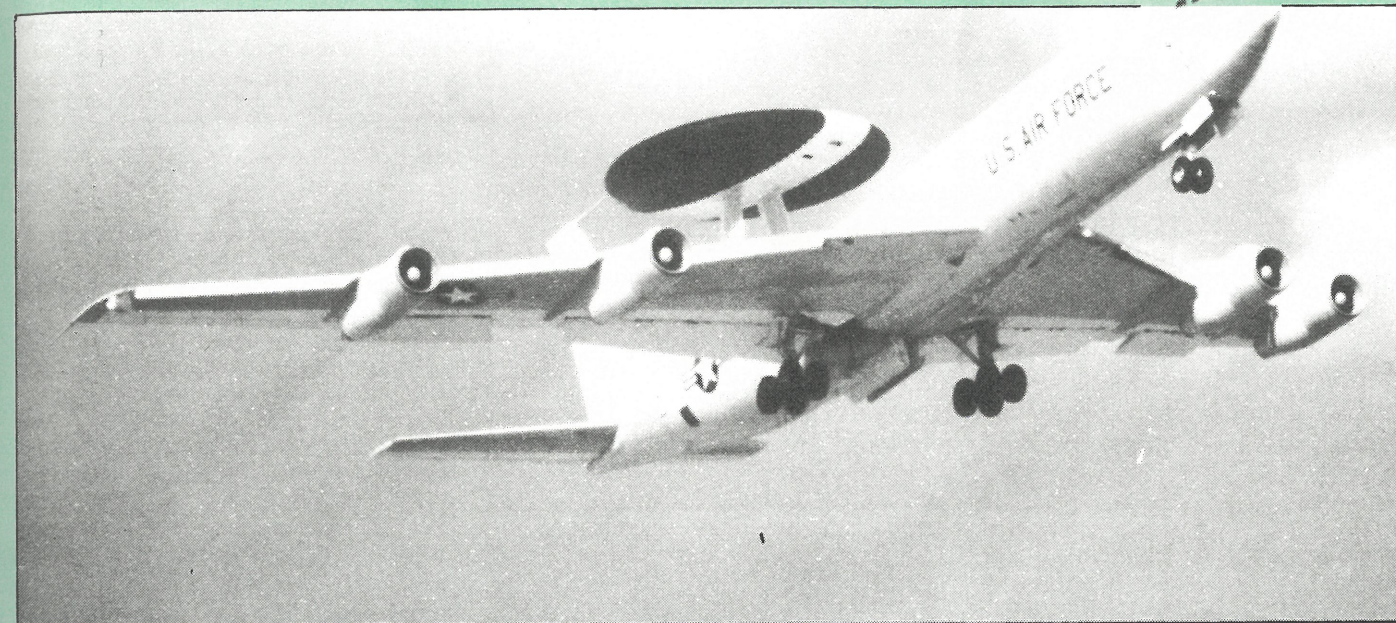
He spoke of the Jamahiriya's readiness to support liberation movements in Oman and Somalia with arms, funds and volunteers, and disclosed that leaders of the Front for the Liberation of Oman and of the Somali National Salvation Front had been received in Tripoli.

Muammar Qadhafi also referred to the Jamahiriya's continuing commitment to the Palestine resistance movement, and those forces in the Arab homeland working for Arab unity and opposing foreign military bases in the region.

On the role of the Revolutionary Committees, Qadhafi reminded the conference that members of the committees had no powers, and that all authority in the Jamahiriya is vested in the basic congresses. He warned against committee members exceeding their responsibilities, and the conference agreed that the activities of members would in future be monitored. Those exceeding their vanguard role would face expulsion.

The Libyan leader has also spoken of the problems being created by illegal immigration into the country. He told a 2nd March rally in Sebha that Arab migrants should give up their state nationality and adopt the Arab nationality as is the case of all Libyans. Such a move would entitle any Arab in the Jamahiriya to equal rights and responsibilities. At the same time he warned that illegal immigration by Africans, other than those from Chad, would not be tolerated.

Zone of peace or region of conflict:



AWACS: Symbol of America's presence in Saudi Arabia

The Arab homeland and the super-powers

IN LESS than three months since the Reagan administration took over the reigns of power in Washington, a new foreign policy towards the Arab homeland has been formulated, developed from the Carter administration's plans for a rapid deployment force, which will provide for a massive military build-up of US arms and forced based on Arab territory. In effect, much of the operational strategy of the RDF will be cancelled in favour of permanent military bases for US forces.

The entire military strategy of the United States provides the most serious challenge to the non-alignment of the Arab homeland, and could eventually provoke a major international confrontation between the Americans and the Soviets. Certainly, there can be little doubt, that the plans of the Americans for such a major deployment of forces and high-technology equipment into a region close to the frontiers of the Soviet Union provide a major provocation to Moscow. Reports that the Americans will soon have Egyptian approval for the movement of nuclear warships through the Suez Canal add an even more ominous note to these latest developments.

One major development in US military plans for the region centre on schemes now being discussed in Washington to develop the former Israeli military bases in Egyptian Sinai into front-line bases for the RDF, under the pretext of their being used as bases for American troops engaged in a peacekeeping role in Sinai, following Israel's final withdrawal from Sinai.

Added to this, the Reagan administration's pressures are being directed to bring the US's allies in Europe to approve the expansion of the role of NATO forces into the Arab homeland. Such a move

THE MASSIVE build-up of American bases in the Arab homeland planned by the Reagan administration is set to pose the most serious challenge to the non-alignment of the Arab states. Louis Eaks looks at the American plans, and reports that the concept of a Rapid Deployment Force is now giving way to the permanent basing of American forces on Arab territory. The consequences of Reagan's moves are to thrust the Arab homeland into the heart of the East-West power struggle, and place the Arab nation in the front line of possible US provocations against the Soviet Union.

could lead to increased Soviet-West European tensions in the event of American provocations towards the USSR from bases in the Middle East.

The Reagan administration is selling arms to all sides of the Israeli-Arab conflict, while at the same time pushing the view that the Soviet Union constitutes the greatest threat to the region.

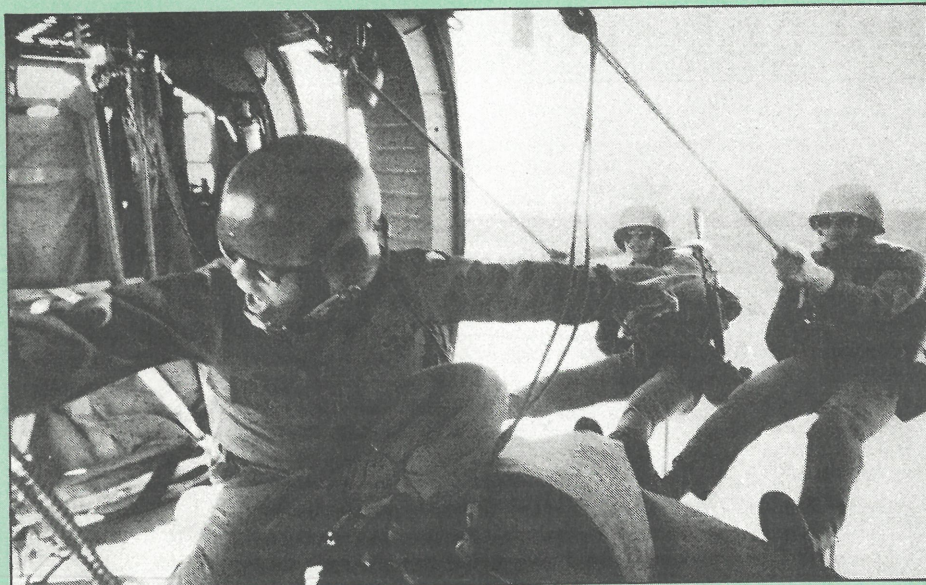
The strategic basis for the simultaneous arms of traditional adversaries to unprecedented levels is admirably summarised in a column by Philip Geyelin in the

Washington Post: 'Officials leave no question about the priorities the Reagan administration has in mind for the Middle East: the big concern is not Arab-Israeli but East-West. The line that Haig is reportedly giving to visitors is that the "Soviets are on the move, and the whole of the Gulf will fall within a year or two if the United States does not make some counter-moves..."'

Geyelin adds, 'The new administration is convinced that it can capitalise on the common security concerns of three ingly improbable collaborators — Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. The hope is that all three can be made to see the same Soviet threat that the [US] administration sees.'

Against the background of Iran's strict neutrality in foreign affairs, and President Brezhnev's call for a security agreement which will keep the two super-powers out of the Gulf region and the Indian Ocean, the American claim of a Soviet threat does not sound very credible in the Arab homeland, even in the Gulf region which has been traditionally Western orientated.

Within the scenario of the US build-up on the Arab homeland, and notably in the Gulf region, is the current Iraqi aggression against neighbouring Iran. Although the Iraqi assault on Iran, and occupation of Iranian territory, is recognised in part as a destabilising campaign to bring down the new revolutionary regime in Tehran, the Iraqi war has served to boost American designs in the region by increasing fears amongst the Gulf Arab states of a regional conflict and thereby opening the way to an American force in the area under the guise of a 'protective role'. Additionally, all this



American troops train for the planned landing in the Arab homeland: a threat to Middle East neutrality.

►serves to boost US arms sales to the region.

US five year plan

A study of the planned US military build-up in the Arab homeland during the next few years adds credibility to the view held widely throughout the Arab nation that the United States now poses a major threat to the independence and non-alignment of the Arab homeland.

The US has embarked on a five year plan to construct or expand a string of military bases across the Middle East and the Indian Ocean in support of American naval, ground and air forces in the area, which is expected to cost over \$2 billion according to administration officials familiar with the plan. The five year plan will more than double the current US defence budget, from \$171 bn in 1981 to \$365.5 bn in 1986. It will jump 16 per cent in 1982 to allow for an extra \$32.6 bn spending. Over the full five years the money sought to fund the plan will total \$1.5 trillion.

The American military build-up, which will eventually focus in the Arab homeland, is enormous. \$887 million is requested this year by the Pentagon to build eight new KC-10 advanced tanker planes for the Air Force, put new engines in half of the US's 517 KC-135 Stratotankers, and buy seven Boeing 707s. Other funds will be used to convert eight commercial cargo ships to fast Navy re-supply vessels. Special emphasis is being given to shipbuilding, the goal being a fleet of some 600 ships by 1990, compared with the current 456. This increase will add three naval battle groups to the US fleet, bring the total to 15 (a battle group includes a carrier, two cruisers, destroyers, guided missile frigates and attack submarines, as well as support vessels).

The ship construction programme will receive an extra \$367 million this year and \$3.8 billion in 1982. The US Navy is



also to get an extra cruiser (\$840 million plus), a nuclear-powered submarine (1 bn), and a new nuclear-powered Nimitz-class carrier, costing over \$4 billion and not ready for sea before 1991.

The Egyptian role

Under the Sadat regime, Egypt is set to provide the focal point for the United States military plans for the Arab homeland, backed by other bases in Somalia, Oman, and according to the latest evidence, the Sudan also. Kenya, another pro-western satellite, will also provide base facilities in the Indian Ocean, where the US already has a base in Diego Garcia.

Both the Americans and her surrogate regimes in the Middle East are attempting to conceal the presence of US bases in the Arab homeland by describing them as 'facilities', and giving the impression that these will be used solely for repairs, storage, refuelling and so forth. In reality, the American presence will be real and permanent.

In December both Egypt's Vice-Premier Fuad Muhieddin and Foreign Minister General Gamal Hassan Ali assured the People's Assembly in Cairo that there

are and never will be any US military bases in Egypt. Observers in Cairo at the time pointed to 'the near permanent presence here is American planes, arms and equipment and several hundred US military personnel, flown in for joint manoeuvres that have lasted more than four months'.

So strong is the US grasp over the running of Egypt that according to diplomatic sources, quoted in *The Guardian* on 23rd December, the opposition newspaper *As Sha'ab* remains in print only because 'the US ambassador advised the [Egyptian] government to retain this useful gauge of public opinion'.

Contrary to what the Egyptian leaders say, sources in Cairo disclosed last November that the US and Egypt were holding talks on a proposed 99 year military alliance agreement. The proposed treaty would give the Pentagon 'legal' rights to maintain bases in Egypt under terms similar to those enjoyed by Britain prior to the 1952 Egyptian Revolution.

Egypt's role in the Americans' plan for the region are not merely speculation. An 8 Days magazine report on 21st March noted: 'Egypt has proved to be the most co-operative of Washington's Middle East allies. The US has actively stepped up the use of Egyptian military facilities since the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty. Egypt was the embarkation point for the abortive raid on Iran last April, and the US AWACS have flown reconnaissance missions over the Iran-Iraq battlefield from bases in Egypt. Egypt has also been the focus of training operations for the RDF.'

It is these military bases over which the United States has gained control as an outcome of the Egypt-Israel treaty, that Washington now plans to use, integrating the Sinai force with a RDF logistical possibility according to US officials. This subject was on the agenda of the Sterner mission's talks in Cairo.

Three main bases are involved: Eitam, Etzion and Sharm el Sheikh, said to be the most sophisticated in the region. Sadat plans to mislead the Egyptian people, by disguising the Americans' RDF presence as part of the Sinai disengagement force. This tactic by the Egyptian ruler underlines the strong opposition amongst the Egyptian public to the US surrogate role adopted by Sadat.

A Zionist Israeli commentator observes: 'The soon-to-be evacuated Eitam, Etzion and Ophira [Sharm el Sheikh] are an infrastructure for the intervention force destined for the Gulf. Such a US force is looking for an address just when the address is looking for an American supervision force to provide the missing link in the framework for the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.'

US base facilities on Egyptian territory currently centre on Ras Banas on the Red Sea coast. Agreement between Sadat and President Carter on the US use of the base is now being upgraded in its role by the Reagan administration.

\$106.4 million of the 1982 expenditure within the US five year plan will be spent to improve the Egyptian port and military base, which is sited across the Red Sea from a major Saudi oil terminal. The plan calls for the construction of oil storage tanks and other shelters for naval supplies; for expanding runways and aprons to accommodate jet fighters and military air transports; and for a staging area for ground troops that might be despatched elsewhere in the region.

Nuclear warships

Meanwhile, Sadat is planning to open the Suez Canal to US nuclear warships. *Reuter*, quoting 'informed sources' in Cairo, says that the Pentagon's interest in gaining access for its nuclear fleet heightened after the downfall of the Shah of Iran in January 1979. Secret negotiations are in progress, says the 17th February report, between the US and the Egyptians. One idea under review is that Egypt set safety standards for nuclear shipping that could be met by American naval vessels but would probably bar Soviet nuclear shipping from the waterway.

Oman and Saudi connections

In early March Pentagon sources disclosed an imminent two week long US military exercise to be staged in Oman, codenamed Accurate Test. Some 250 communications specialists and electronic and other technicians, drawn from all four branches of the US armed forces, were scheduled to take part in an operation which is believed to lay the groundwork for airborne surveillance of the Straits of Hormuz.

The nature of the operation points to Oman becoming an important communications centre in the American military

Arab military spending

ACCORDING TO the International Peace Research Institute of Stockholm, Middle Eastern military spending is running at more than \$40 billion a year. The biggest spender is Saudi Arabia with an estimated \$20.7 billion last year, according to the London based Institute for Strategic Studies.

Per capita spending in the Gulf is the world's highest. Saudi Arabia spends \$2,400, the United Arab Emirates \$2,100, Qatar \$1,700, Kuwait \$1,200 and Oman \$1,060.

The world's next highest per capita military spenders according to the Stockholm institute are the United States and the Libyan Jamahiriya, with a per capita spending of about \$600 each. These figures, of course, conceal the real extent of American military spending. Based on these figures the US total of \$127,200 million compares with the Jamahiriya's military budget (not officially confirmed) of only \$1,800 million, the equivalent of 1.45 per cent of the Americans' spending.

network for the region. The failure of Carter's Iranian mission because of poor communications, adds the prospect that Oman could be crucial for future US intervention in Iran, or against Arab countries in the region.

With the backing of the Omani regime of Sultan Qabous, the US has access to the military base on Masira island, and \$75 million of the American five year plan is allocated for its development. The US is also providing capital for the development of Omani naval ports at Mutrah, near the Hormuz Straits, and Salalah near the border with Democratic Yemen, and for improving a smaller airfield at Seeb, also near the Straits.

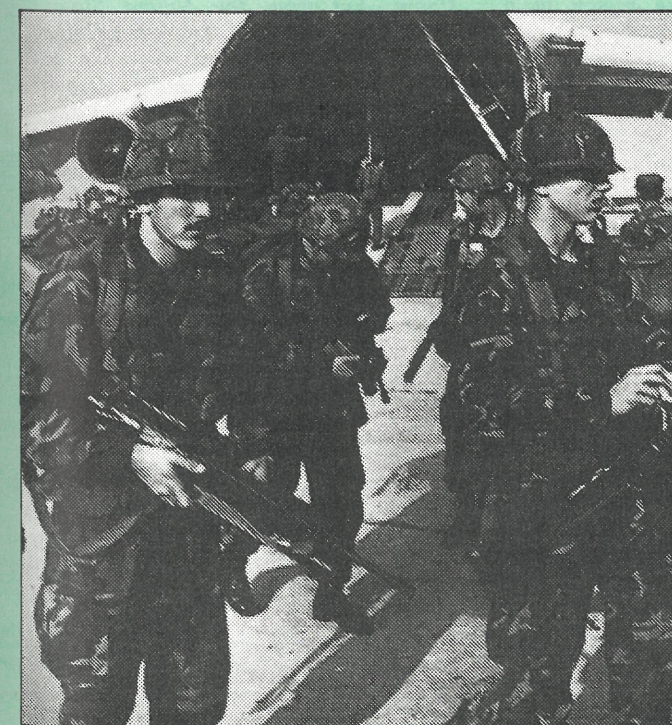
Although Saudi Arabia has not been a focus of attention in connection with US military bases, the link is strong. Despite the country's declared non-alignment, 1,000 US military advisors are now present in Saudi Arabia, not including 600 personnel associated with the four AWACS. US advisors are expected to increase

when the 62 F-15 tactical jet fighters arrive in Saudi Arabia next year.

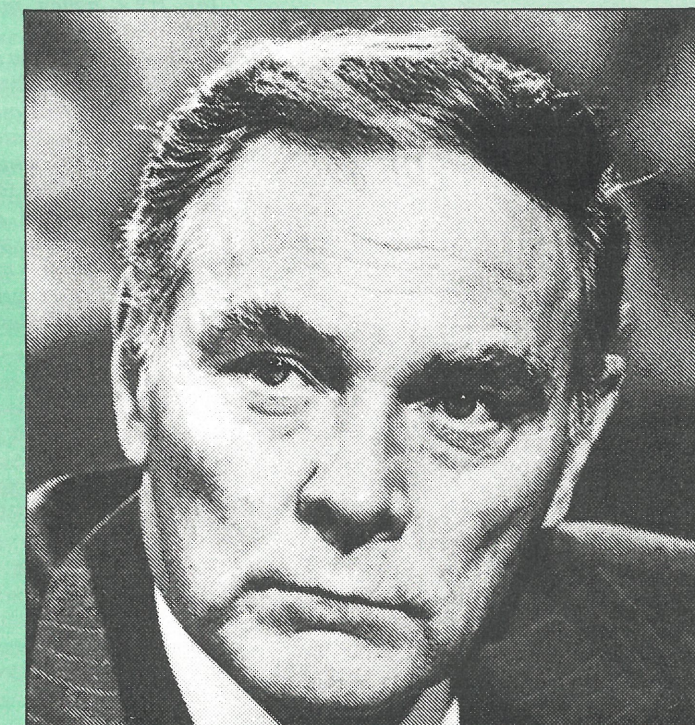
North African plans

Apart from the key role now being played by Egypt in Washington's military build-up in North Africa, plans also include Somalia, and the Sudan, with back-up facilities being provided by Kenya. To the west of the region, America continues to pour military aid into Morocco to support King Hassan's annexation of Western Sahara.

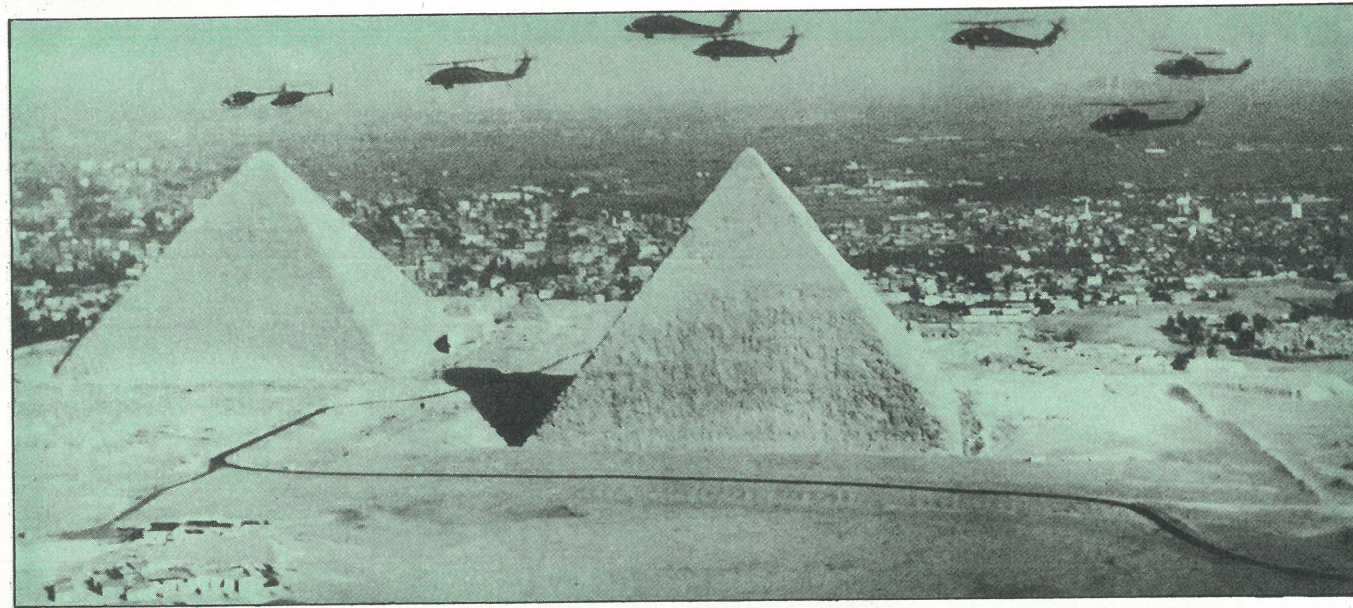
\$24 million are scheduled in the Pentagon's five year plan for developing the Americans' base at Berbera in Somalia, and Washington is expected to approve soon the sale to Somalia of three Westinghouse TPS43 long range air defence radars, with \$30 million, and 12 General Electric M167 towed Vulcan anti-aircraft guns with their attendant systems, costing \$12 million. At Berbera the Americas have already lengthened the runway and upgraded the tower and refuelling facilities, to a level which supports some



US manoeuvres in Egypt



Secretary of State Haig: Global vision



Arabs view America as the greater threat

THE REAGAN-Haig doctrine is not, however, endorsed by all American foreign policy experts. One critic is Dean Brown, Director of the Middle East Institution in Washington, who commented recently in Abu Dhabi, 'What we really need is a mixture of political and mutual understanding, with the countries in the region, of the existing problems, and this is more political than military.'

He explained that an agreement between the United States and the countries of the region over the problem and threats, as well as possible solutions was 'much better than installing a group of marines somewhere in the desert.'

The American expert ruled out as 'unlikely' the possibility of a Soviet action in the Straits of Hormuz to cut the flow of oil to the West. 'This would never happen in such a manner and the presence of an American base in the region would not be effective in such a case,' he said.

Arab commentators tend to endorse Dean Brown's views. US Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's call for a permanent American military

presence in the Gulf region on 8th March confirmed the analyses of both conservative and radical Arab commentators of the regional strategic implications of the Camp David process.

Progressing from the assumption that the growing dependence of the US, and heavy dependence of Japan and Western Europe, on Middle East oil entitled the West to deploy troops and naval vessels in the region, Weinberger stated that 'unprotected' Arab oil wells would prove an irresistible prey for the Soviet Union.

But Arab commentators see the increasingly militaristic foundations of the US's policy in the region in a different light.

The editor of the conservative Lebanese daily An Nahar for instance, judges that the primary objective of the Reagan administration in the Middle East will be to bring Jordan and Saudi Arabia into the Camp David orbit. Egypt and Israel alone, he argues, are insufficient to make credible American claims to be guarantor of 'Middle East security' in the face of the alleged 'Soviet threat'. The An

Nahar columnist concludes that the direction the Reagan administration is taking shows that 'military logic is overpowering political and diplomatic logic.'

Noting that signs of this trend are evident in El Salvador, in the sphere of US-Soviet relations and in the American attitude towards its western European allies, the Lebanese commentator urges Jordan and Saudi Arabia to distance themselves as far as possible militarily, from the US, and politically from the American concept of Middle East security.

More radical commentators assert that the main threat to the region's security comes not from the Soviet Union, but from the United States itself. They note that the Soviet Union is an active proponent of plans to make the Gulf and the Indian Ocean zones free of outside military intervention and nuclear proliferation.

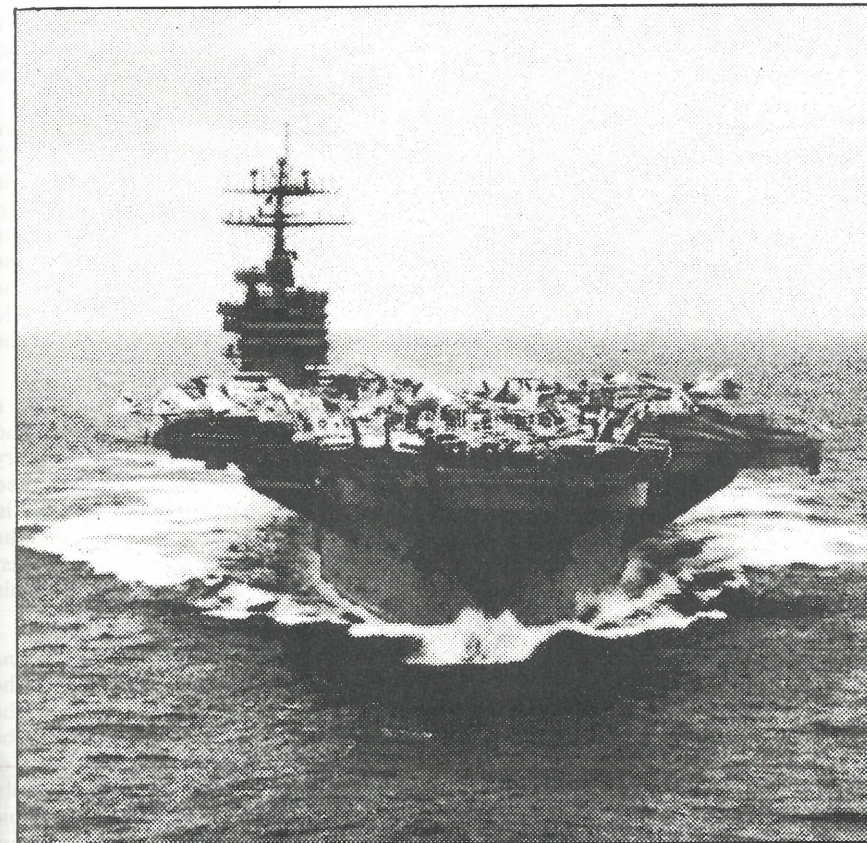
Recent studies by the Swedish Petroleum Institute, Lloyds International, and the British Economist Intelligence Unit, are commonly referred to as decisive proof that the Soviet Union will continue to be the net exporter of oil and natural gas well into the 1980s.

planes and helicopters for use in the desert war.

A boost to American plans for the region came on 17th March, when Sudan's President Numeiri invited the United States to establish air bases and make use of military facilities in his country. The move, if followed by action on the ground, would provide a major platform for American rapid deployment forces, and is seen by observers as opening the way for Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to approve the American troops presence in the region, since these troops would not be on Saudi soil.

region. Seven US warships from Deigo Garcia would play a vanguard role in moving the initial 12,000 US troops of the RDF into the Gulf when needed.

In the Western Sahara, the Moroccan war against the Polisario forces is sustained by military assistance from the United States. In January Reagan's administration announced plans for selling 108 US M60 tanks to Morocco. The US has supplied the kingdom with an annual average of \$40 million in military credits and loans over the past four years. Last year it sold Morocco over \$200 million worth of OV-10 Bronco reconnaissance



US Sixth Fleet: Provocations in Libyan waters

US Sixth Fleet sails into Libyan waters

IN A move seemed designed to raise tensions in the Middle East, and perhaps to provoke a Libyan military response to justify a joint US-Egyptian invasion of the Jamahiriya, units of the US Sixth Fleet violated Libyan sea and air space on four consecutive days from the 10th March. Involved were two aircraft carriers, ten other military vessels and several squadrons of carrier-borne F-14 fighters.

JANA, the Jamahiriya News Agency, described the violations as 'part of America's aggressive plans against the Libyan Arab people', and added that the exercises were aimed at 'terrorising the region and bringing it under imperialist domination.'

The Libyans have been careful to avoid a military response to the American provocations, but the entry of American planes and shipping into Libyan territory could easily have provoked a response from the Libyan air force were the Jamahiriya not concerned with avoiding a major pretext for US intervention and a serious confrontation in the region.

The March incidents are not the first time that the United States has attempted to provoke the Libyans into a

response. Last September Washington admitted that it had sent spy-planes to the very edges of Libyan airspace. The International Herald Tribune referred to two confrontations in less than a week involving a C-135 plane escorted by an F-14 fighter 'armed with Phoenix air-to-air missiles'. According to the report, an additional two Navy F-14 planes were launched from the John F Kennedy aircraft carrier when Libyan planes intercepted the Americans.

The paper said that a US Air Force C-135 electronic eavesdropping plane was involved in 'flying at the edge of Libyan airspace'.

The previous year, in August 1979, a task force of the Sixth Fleet announced plans to sail into Libyan territorial waters. The Jamahiriya had earlier declared a 12 mile territorial limit, together with the water of the Gulf of Sirte. The US rejected this, although 77 countries claim a 12 mile limit; the US and 21 other countries recognise a 3 mile limit, although the Americans accepted a 12 mile limit as part of an international charter during the Law of the Sea conference.

Last year, following the American provocations, the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi pointed out: 'We have not gone to America's shores. It is the Americans who came through the Mediterranean and Europe to the edges of our territorial waters and airspace. We have avoided a confrontation many times.'

Libya: Target of American destabilisation plan

THE RECENT American intrusion into Libyan territorial air and sea space provides the latest provocation against the Jamahiriya. A special correspondent assesses how real the dangers are to the Libyan Jamahiriya from the United States and her surrogate regime in Egypt. The report points to a concerted destabilisation campaign against Libya aimed at making the Jamahiriya the Chile of the 1980s. If Reagan fails in El Salvador, he may take his 'stand' on Libya

THAT THE United States would like to bring the downfall of people's democracy in the Libyan Jamahiriya, and rid itself of Muammer Qadhafi's vocal and persistent opposition to American economic and political exploitation of the Arab homeland is no secret. The thrust of the propaganda campaign fed by American and western intelligence into the international news agency networks is to discredit the Libyans amongst world opinion, and to open the way for military intervention against the Jamahiriya.

Most recently the western press has carried reports of an alleged Soviet presence in Libya, despite the absence of any evidence to support such claims, and Libyan denials; previously the press carried the State Department line concerning claims of Libyan annexation of Chad and military intervention — analysis of these claims shows that contrary to annexation, Libya respects the OAU programme on the future of Chad and early democratic elections, added to which Libya's intervention came at the request of Chad's recognised legitimate government.

Last year the western press sought to implicate Libya in the Tunisian uprising at Gafsa, evidence of which has yet to be produced one year later.

► This manipulation of the press, instigated by informal, off-the-record talks between intelligence sources and diplomatic correspondents, is designed to pave the way for military intervention in Libya, either by the United States or using the Egyptians as a proxy force. The American view is that world opinion will not condemn the intervention if it has accepted the claims put out by Washington through the international media.

But what evidence is there of a military threat to Libyan sovereignty? A Congressional report last July declared the Jamahiriya a 'serious threat to American interests in the region.' The House Foreign Affairs Committee warned Washington to be alert to Libya's policies in the region.

In the same month French intelligence sources were quoted by a London newspaper as confirming that the Sadat regime was preparing for a military aggression against the Jamahiriya. The French said that an Israeli general staff working group had been seconded to the Egyptian ruler to prepare a blueprint for a full-scale invasion of Libya.

The reports added weight to moves by Sadat, who the previous month had announced that martial law was to be imposed in the area along the Libyan border. Sadat then massed six infantry, six armoured and three airborne brigades along the Libyan border, backed by warplanes, and forty naval vessels just outside Libyan territorial waters.

It was in this context of an imminent threat from Egypt that the Libyan Jamahiriya viewed seriously the Egyptian backing, with arms supplies and advisers, provided to the Chadian rebel leader Hissane Habre — the overthrow of the OAU installed government in Chad would have opened the way for Egyptian forces to be stationed along Libya's southern border, giving Sadat a potential two-front thrust into Libya. Clearly this was the Washington-Cairo plan, and provides some insight into the virulent anti-Libyan propaganda campaign launched following Libya's intervention in Chad to put an end to the civil war.

The mysterious crash on 2nd March in which the Egyptian Defence Minister Lt Gen Ahmed Badawi and senior military personnel reported to be opposed to Sadat's plan to attack the Jamahiriya (see inset) adds to speculation that the Egyptian ruler is keen to launch his aggression to divert Egyptian attention from the build-up of American forces and bases on Egyptian territory, and from the country's pressing economic problems.

An Egyptian invasion would almost certainly be synchronised with an appeal from Libyan reactionaries based in Egypt for support in overthrowing the Jamahiriya's people's democracy to 'legitimise' Sadat's actions. This might also provide a cover for direct American intervention when Sadat is unable to make progress into Libyan territory (previous attempts have failed).



Sadat: Culprit or mourner?

How did Badawi die?

THE DEATH of the Egyptian Defence Minister, Lt Gen Ahmed Badawi, killed in a helicopter crash at the Siwa Oasis in Egypt's Western Desert on 2nd March, is not as straightforward as the Sadat regime would make believe.

Although nine-major generals, one brigadier-general and three colonels died in the crash, observers point to the survival of the plane's four-man crew and Badawi's private secretary.

Certain facts raise suspicion that the men did not die as a result of the crash, given that the less controversial members of the passengers and crew 'survived'.

Although Badawi held high office in the Sadat regime and military apparatus, he was not in sympathy with much of Sadat's military strategy. He favoured, as the Jerusalem Post noted, 'military parity with Israel in time of peace'.

Added to this, Sadat has been having trouble with his military elite over the issue of launching a new aggression against the Libyan Jamahiriya. According to the March 1981 issue of Proceedings of US Naval Institute, 'Sadat has restrained himself from dealing preemptively with Qadhafi partly from the reluctance of Egyptian armed forces commanders to fight Soviet frontline equipment.'

Given these facts, it was convenient for Sadat, therefore, that those who died in the 'crash' should include the commander of the Western military zone (the Egyptian-Libyan border), the chief of staff for the same zone, the commander of the Engineering Corps, the commander of the Signal Corps, and the commander of the army's supply department.

The Americans have their contingency plans for the invasion of Libya. These were set in motion under a previous Republican administration, headed by President Nixon, in 1974.

As American troop deployments were increased in the Mediterranean, US marines were despatched to Fort Riley in Kansas for helicopter assault training, code-named 'Petrolandia'. Pentagon sources were quoted at the time by the American press as saying that in the event of a new oil embargo, Libya would be logistically an easier target than the Gulf states.

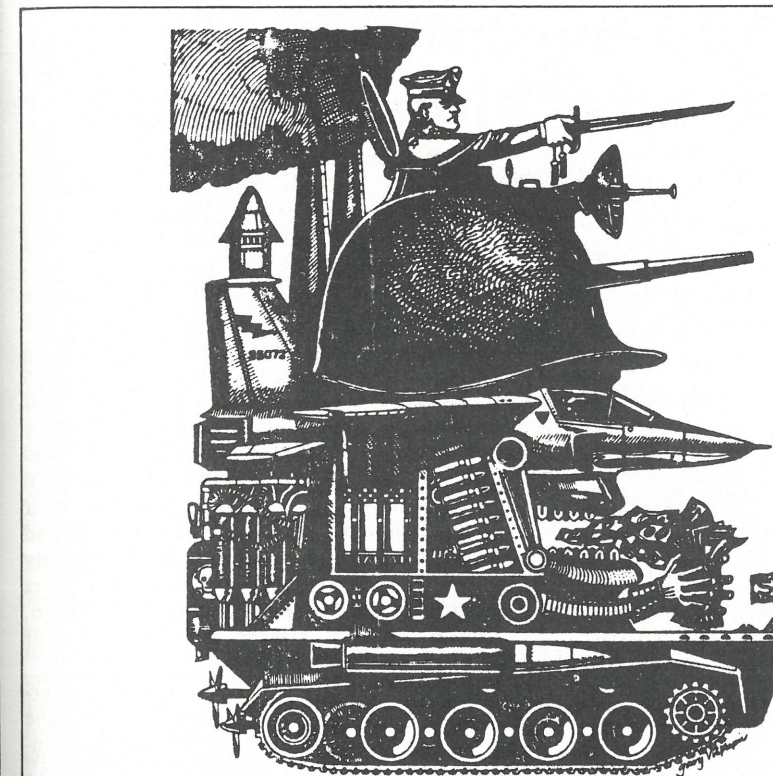
The American press, which plays a crucial role in preparing American and world public opinion for US military intervention in foreign countries, returned to the theme of possible intervention in Libya during 1979, and in recent months the trend of western press charges against the Jamahiriya point to a renewal of this psychological process.

In 1979, *International Herald Tribune* columnist Drew Middleton wrote of the logistics of American intervention in the Arab oil states: 'Distance would not be quite the same problem in Libya. Some of the difficulties encountered on the Arabian Peninsula would be less formidable in Libya.' At about the same time, William Pfaff wrote in the same newspaper that US intervention was open to less international condemnation if it were to assist 'a nonforeign-supported rebellion or unrest or a takeover' making it 'a straightforward military operation to seize and secure a major zone of oil production' and, no doubt, to force a pro-American regime on the target country.

Given that the Jamahiriya provides an easier logistical target for the Americans than other Arab oil producing states, coupled with the Jamahiriya's radical and firm stand on non-alignment and the integrity of the Arab homeland, Libya also provides the United States with a political target. If Reagan is unable to project a firm stand over El Salvador (and Europe is reluctant to back the Reagan line over communist threats), Libya may well be his number two target. Recent press claims of a Soviet presence in Libya, although unsubstantiated and quite untrue, may be a preliminary pretext for Reagan to order the marines into the Jamahiriya.

Reagan's analysis of the Middle East is wide of the mark, and although he may expect to use Libya as an example to would-be Arab opponents of the American plans for the Middle East, such an invasion would not be tolerated by other Arab regimes, who have already condemned Sadat's plans towards the Jamahiriya.

El Salvador may be of little concern to western Europe, but a major confrontation flaring out of an American aggression against Libya would be on Europe's backyard. It would have international repercussions.



HOWEVER MUCH President Reagan and Secretary Haig proclaim the dangers to the Arab homeland of Soviet intervention, the target of the American build-up in the Middle East is almost certainly not directed against a possible Soviet threat, but at Islam and the Arab nation.

Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi gave an insight into one aspect behind the American scheme, when he commented recently: 'If truly liberated, Islam could play a positive role in international politics, and broaden the base of positive neutralism.'

The other related aspect which the US fears is Arab unity. There is no doubt that with its economic and human resources, the Arab nation, if liberated from the restraints imposed on it by neo-colonialism, could provide a major third power in international politics, to act as a positively non-aligned force.

On analysis, the Americans fear the Arabs more than the Soviet Union. If the Arabs provided a united front they would be a formidable force, asserting the region's right to non-intervention by the super-powers, and in the economic and political field giving the strength to the non-aligned movement which it has always lacked. The economic power of the Arab nation, channelled into the Third World developing nations could break the stranglehold now imposed by the United States, Britain and France.

What stands in the path of such unity of the Arabs is the absence of a nationalist leadership, independent from the United States and Britain. Too many Arab leaders depend on American protection, and therefore give priority to appeasing American interests over satisfying the aspirations of the Arab nation.

The Americans fear that the corrupt and

The modern face of colonial occupation

ALTHOUGH THE Americans claim a Soviet threat to the Arab homeland to justify their military build-up, Ali Aziz suggests that the effects will be to place the Arab nation under American occupation. The target, he argues, is not the Soviets but control of the Arab people to serve American interests.

feudal regimes which characterise many Arab states may come under pressure from popular uprisings. Although the western media makes much of the lack of democracy in the Arab homeland to denigrate the Arab nation, it is the United States which stands in the path of progress, not the Arab people.

The Saudi regime, which is a powerful influence within the Arab homeland, is confronted with popular pressures for democratisation of the feudal kingdom and Arab demands that Saudi power and influence be channelled for the benefit of the Palestinian cause, while on the other

hand it is subjected to pressures and intimidation from Washington not to move on these issues.

The Saudis' rejection of the Camp David accords led to widespread claims in the western press, following the line from the State Department, that the House of Saud faced internal threats to its survival. This is true in part, but a threat which liberalisation of the political system might forestall. However, the message from Washington was twofold: either submit to Washington and enjoy American protection, or fall — not to a popular uprising, but to a new pro-American leader who will be installed by the United States, just as Sultan Qabous' coup was engineered by the British.

A strong US military presence in the Arab homeland is intended to reinforce Washington's political approach to the Middle East. Not least the Americans wish to impose the Zionist regime in Palestine on the Arab nation. Sadat has succumbed to the American line and the recent pronouncements from Khartoum suggest that the Sudan is now a partner to this Egyptian-Zionist-American alliance.

With regard to the Rapid Deployment Force, the prospects of its being used in the event of a Soviet invasion, which even many senior US foreign affairs experts consider unlikely, is less of a likelihood than the force being used against the Arab nation. The dominant threat is of a US military initiative in the event of a new oil embargo being imposed, in the event of a new Israeli aggression against the Arabs (events in the Palestine region suggest this is very likely), or to break a political stand linked to oil supplies, such as a demand for immediate action to resolve the Palestine question.

Given the consequences of the American build-up in respect of the Saudis, consider the implications for radical and progressive Arab countries such as Libya and Syria. An American presence in Egypt is not directed towards Moscow, but at the Arab progressive movement, with its principled rejection of the American strategy for the region. Just as Palestine fell to the Zionists because Arab regimes in the 1940s were under British control, today that Zionist occupation will be strengthened by American control over the Arab homeland. The Arab nation cannot claim to be more free than Afghanistan so long as there are foreign bases on its soil.

Given the Brezhnev proposals for the Gulf and the Indian Ocean to be the subject of a summit towards making the region a neutral zone, Reagan's declarations have no credibility. Less of a concern to the Arab nation than predictions of a Soviet threat is the reality of the American backed occupation of Arab lands in Palestine. If Washington were in any sense sincere about its respect for the sovereignty of Arab rights, an immediate termination of the financial and military backing for the Zionist regime in Palestine is required.

Reagan and Beigin: A common view on attacking Lebanon

AS ZIONIST attacks on Lebanon reached a new crescendo with the killing of Nigerian members of the UN peace-keeping forces there in March, the Palestine Liberation Organisation has accused the Reagan administration of complicity in the recent escalation of assaults on the country. At the same time, with the Israeli general elections only weeks away, there are fears that Beigin, almost certain to fall in the election, is planning a full-scale invasion of Lebanon in a bid to retain power by diverting attention from the chaotic state of the Israeli economy and rallying popular opinion behind his Likud coalition. Another aim of the attacks is to prevent the newly reconstituted Lebanese regular army from deploying in areas controlled by the Zionists' rightist allies in Lebanon. Such a reassertion of central government authority would severely limit the scope for action by the Zionists and their allies aimed at decimating the Palestinians in Lebanon. But the new commander of the UN forces in the south has brought with him a new determination to thwart Israel's plans.

The attack on the Nigerian position, at Qantara, came on 16th March when the forces of the renegade Lebanese army major Sa'ad Haddad, which control an enclave along the south Lebanese border, launched an artillery and mortar barrage that killed two Nigerians outright and wounded eleven others, one of whom later died. Two Lebanese regular army soldiers were also wounded. Shortly after, Haddad bombarded a Dutch UN position near Yater with phosphorous shells, which can inflict horrific wounds.

The attacks were designed to underline the Zionists' determination to prevent the deployment in south Lebanon of the Lebanese regular army. In early March it was agreed at a summit meeting between Presidents Sarkis of Lebanon and Assad of Syria that more Lebanese troops should be sent to the region, and a detachment of 40 Lebanese soldiers arrived in Qantara shortly after to take up positions alongside Nigerian UN troops. Prior to the attack, Haddad's men had already kidnapped a four-man Lebanese army medical team which was carrying out a vaccination programme in the UN-controlled area.

The assault on Qantara was only the latest in a string of major aggressions against southern Lebanon mounted in recent weeks by the Zionists and their south Lebanese proteges. The first two months of 1981 saw six military operations against the joint Palestinian-Lebanese leftist forces in the region, while artillery barrages have been an almost daily occurrence.

The PLO sees a clear link between the Reagan administration and the escalation of Zionist aggressions against south

THE UPSURGE in Israeli backed attacks on south Lebanon are justified by the Zionists on the basis of recent statements by the Reagan administration. However, the United Nations forces in Lebanon are preparing to play a more positive role in re-asserting Lebanese control over the region. As the Israeli elections approach, fears are raised that Beigin might launch a new invasion in a final bid to win at the polls.

Lebanon. On 22nd February Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat told a Beirut rally that the US and Israel were colluding in their plans 'to crush the Palestinians in southern Lebanon'. He added that US Secretary of State Alexander Haig had 'given the green light' to the Israeli foreign minister Yitzhak Shamir, during the two men's earlier meeting in Washington 'to activate plans for striking at the Palestinians and their Lebanese allies'.

Shortly before, the Zionist deputy defence minister Mordechai Zipori admitted the connection between the Israeli attacks and Washington when, in the wake of heavy Zionist bombing of Palestinian refugee camps in south Lebanon on 29th January, he said more such attacks would follow and referred by way of justification to a widely-reported statement made shortly before by Reagan that 'terrorist' action must be met with a 'swift and unequivocal' reply.

The Lebanese government, with the full support of Syria, is determined to deploy the newly reconstituted Lebanese regular army throughout the country, a move that would be welcomed by the Palestinian-leftist Lebanese forces. The



Menachem Beigin: Aggressor in Lebanon

new commander of the UN forces, General William Callaghan, also fully backs the government position. It is in fact part of the UN forces' mandate that they should help the Lebanese government restore its authority in the whole border region. The only resistance to the deployment of the regular army comes from the Zionists and their rightist allies in Lebanon. The rightists know that their power derives mainly from their military strength — achieved through Israeli aid — and that their influence in a peaceful Lebanon would be limited because of their small numbers. For the Israelis, a spread of the Beirut government's authority would severely limit the scope for direct attacks on the Palestinians in Lebanon, and for such attacks launched by their Lebanese proxies.

General Callaghan is clearly determined not to be intimidated by the Israelis and their rightist allies. Denouncing the Qantara killings as 'barbarous', he issued a general warning that the UN force would 'protect itself with the defensive weapons at its disposal' if it were attacked again. The UN in Lebanon, he said, would not be 'intimidated by wanton and brutal acts'. He went on: 'It is never open to me to negotiate under threat of fire or fire and it is not my intention ever to do so.'

In the past, the UN forces have been criticised for excessive restraint in the face of repeated attacks which have claimed the lives of almost 60 UN troops since they moved into the region in the wake of the Israeli invasion of March 1978. General Callaghan's resolve was underlined by the sighting, the day after the Qantara attack, of two Lebanese regular army convoys heading south from Sidon to the UN-controlled area. As the normally restrained London Times commented on 18th March, 'It would not be an exaggeration to say that there could be some very dramatic moments for UNIFIL — and for Major Haddad's militia — in the coming months.'

Observers fear, however, that the new round of Israeli attacks on Lebanon may be the prelude to another full-scale invasion of the south, aimed at ultimate Zionist annexation of the region. Such a move, it is argued, would serve Beigin well with the Israeli elections coming up fast. On the one hand it would distract the Israeli public from his regime's disastrous handling of the economy, which has given the Zionist state the world's highest inflation rate. On the other, it would serve to rally opinion behind Beigin's Likud coalition in what would be presented as a 'national emergency'. With successive opinion polls underlining Beigin's unpopularity in Israel, there is a growing danger that he might be tempted to launch such an invasion.

□ It seems Israel is perpetuating new aggression against the Lebanese and the Palestinian people. What is your explanation of this new wave of Zionist aggression?

• We must always remember that Israel, according to the strategic plans of the Zionist movement, is preparing for a major attack against Lebanon in order to occupy the southern part of it. There, it expects to control the water resources of the Litani and the Wazzani rivers and then transfer them to the Negev Desert. This would enable Israel to bring another two to three million Zionists to the occupied land of Palestine.

Israel intends to liquidate not only the Palestinian rifle, but the Palestinian people as well. Israel dreams of wiping out the entire Palestinian struggle.

Another Israeli aim in Lebanon is the creation of a new religious state with the assistance of its allies all over the world. Simultaneously, Israel would initiate the beginnings of new divisions among the Arab states, dividing states themselves into religious states or sheikhdoms. All this Israel is doing at the same time as she is trying to impress on the world the necessity for the existence of a Jewish state as a haven for a religious minority.

□ The Phalangists have received aid from Israel in the past. Are they assisting Israel in this new wave of aggression?

• The Phalangists in Lebanon are heavily supported by Israel with military arms and ammunition as well as financial aid. As the right hand of Israel in Lebanon, they will not hesitate to prove their loyalty towards it and therefore will assist in any Israeli plans against the people of Lebanon. This they are actually doing today.

□ There are reports that Israel is using illegal weapons against the civilian population in south Lebanon. The use of such weapons: cluster bombs, napalm, F-15s and F-16s, violates treaties between Israel and the US. Has any effort been made by the US to stop this illegal use of weapons?

• It is the duty of Lebanese and Palestinians alike to remind the good American citizens that the PLO officially acknowledged Mr Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the UN, and effectively respected the decision, early this year, by stopping its operations against Israel from southern Lebanon. Despite this fact, the American-made military jets and weapons, used by Israel, are still pouring into southern Lebanon.

We have heard little about official American steps taken towards Israel with regard to the use of such illegal weapons. Today these F-15s, cluster bombs, etc, are still causing the death and destruction of Lebanese villages, killing hundreds of civilians.

□ The LNM and the PLO have had a good relationship from the outset. Can you comment on that relationship today?

• The relationship between the Lebanese



The Zionist blitzkrieg in Lebanon continues

Salim Shatila warns of Zionist goals in Lebanon

IN THIS interview, Salim Shatila, Vice Secretary-General of the Lebanese National Movement, warns that Israel is preparing to invade south Lebanon, and reviews the composition and role of the LNM and its relationship with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

National Movement and the PLO is the translation of the traditionally excellent relationship between the two peoples of Lebanon and Palestine.

We are facing our common enemy together. We are fighting for our common freedom. We are suffering together and we will achieve victory together.

The unity between the two peoples under the leadership of the PLO and the LNM is the result of thousands of common martyrs who offered their souls and blood to assure Arab rights, liberation, unity and democracy.

□ Can you give a brief summary of the LNM, the groups comprising it, and its structure?

• The need for a solid front capable of leading a political and military confrontation against Israel resulted in the form-

ation of the Lebanese National Movement. The Lebanese National Movement is presided over by Mr Waleed Jumblatt, head of the Progressive Socialist Party. There are six Vice-Presidents and the Executive Committee, the daily leadership, is composed of thirteen members representing nine parties and four independent personalities. Heading the committee is Mr Mohsen Ibrahim, who is the Secretary-General.

The Central Political Council is composed of the Executive Committee besides eight other parties, organisations and independents. There are also eight major and three minor departments of Arab affairs.

In addition, the Lebanese National Movement established nine local councils in different parts of Lebanon but mainly in southern Lebanon. These councils take care of the daily needs of the inhabitants there, especially the social and health problems.

□ What is the LNM role in Lebanon today?

• The LNM, led previously by the immortal leader Kamal Jumblatt, is now trying hard to improve its position towards the Popular United Front. This is a major goal and we hope to reach it as soon as possible. However, we are taking into great consideration the seriousness of the common projects of Israel and the Phalangists against the unity of Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance. But, we are confident, victory will be ours.

\$2.3 billion worth of deals signed for industrial city

THE INTEGRATED iron and steel plant to be built at the coastal city of Misrata forms a centre-piece of the Jamahiriya's industrial development programme, and February saw a new spate of major contracts for the project.

A \$539.3 million contract for a 670,000 tonnes per annum capacity steel production plant was won by a consortium of West Germany's Korf Engineering and Voest-Alpine of Austria. The plant will specialise in the production of steel blooms and billets and will have three electric arc furnaces, each with a capacity of 90 tonnes for each production shift.

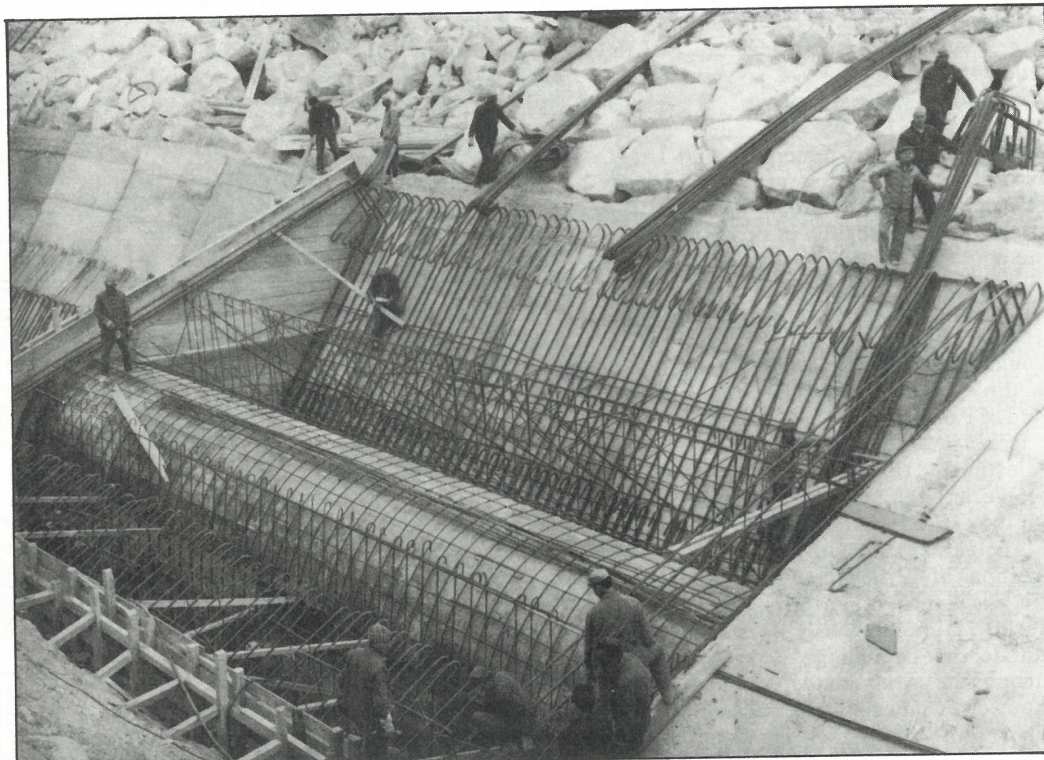
A contract for a second steel production plant has gone to a consortium headed by Krupp of West Germany. The \$674.2 million plant will produce 650,000 tonnes of steel slabs per year.

Two consortia, both led by Voest-Alpine, have each won a contract for a steel rolling mill. One, a hot rolling mill costing \$524.2 million, will have an annual capacity of 580,000 tonnes. The other is a cold rolling mill valued at \$498 million and with a 120,000 tonnes per year capacity.

A \$49 million contract for a power and desalination complex for the steel works has been won by Japan's Kobe Steel. This entails the construction of a power station with three 83.5 MW steam turbines and a 220 kV substation and switching station. The desalination plant will have three units, each with a daily capacity of 10,500 million cubic feet of water. The turnkey contract, for completion by September 1982, also involves the provision of sea water circulation and cooling water systems with intakes from the steel works' own harbour, being built by South Korea's Hyundai Construction.

Urban and rural road networks expand

ADDRESSING THE General People's Congress in January, Planning Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa reported that by 1980 the length of metalled road in the Jamahiriya had increased to 10,700 kilometres, compared with 7,747 kilometres five years earlier. The recently unveiled 1981-85 development plan calls for the construction of 1,500 kilometres of new roads, representing an average annual growth rate in the road network of 7.4 per cent.



Modern roads boost communications in the Jamahiriya

The Jamahiriya's ambitious development programmes have required the movement overland of ever-greater volumes of goods, while rocketing living standards have been accompanied by sharp rises in the levels of personal car ownership.

It is these factors that lie behind the high priority placed on the improvement of the road system. Developments reported in recent weeks underline the continuing emphasis placed on improved road links.

The Communications Secretariat announced on 12th February that work had started on studies and specifications for the construction of 1,800 kilometres of new roads, as well as for the re-building and re-surfacing of 6,500 kilometres of existing roads.

Shortly after, it was reported that South Korea's Samsung Construction Company has won a \$100 million contract for a 247 kilometre road, to run from Sirte — about midway between Tripoli and Benghazi — to Waddan in the south. The highway should be completed in three years.

To avert traffic congestion in city centres, ring roads are being built around the Jamahiriya's major towns. In February work started on the second of Tripoli's ring roads, linking Gairan in the west to Jadida in the east. 25 kilometres in length, 70 metres wide, and with 42 flyovers and bridges, the new route is due for completion in 30 months.

In a development highlighting the growth of car ownership in the Jamahiriya, Peugeot-Citroen of France has signed a contract to supply 30,000 vehicles to Libya this year, reported *Middle East*

Economic Digest on 6th February. The firm's share of the Libyan market is currently about 30 per cent.

Success for Turkish firms in housing and education projects

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is Turkey's largest overseas construction market, and the recent announcement that three Turkish concerns have won contracts with a total value of \$212 million shows that the Turks are consolidating their important role in Libya's development programmes.

A \$54 million Housing Secretariat contract, for 900 homes with associated infrastructure, has gone to Uytas. The buildings, at Tarhuna, Homs and Tripoli, should be completed in 25 months. The company reports that it is already working on six other construction contracts with a total value of \$43.2 million.

A \$75 million contract has been won by Saracoglu Muhendislik for the construction of 37 primary and secondary schools at Sabratha and Zawiya. The work, to be undertaken for the Education Secretariat, is for completion in three years. The same company won a second contract, valued at \$53 million, for the construction of two Social Security Secretariat complexes. The complexes, for completion in three years, include medical centres, housing

for doctors and nurses, and sports facilities.

A \$30 million contract from the Housing Secretariat for a residential and industrial complex near Sebha, deep in the Sahara, has gone to Yasar Ozkan Muhendislik. The Ankara-based company will build 224 single storey homes, a four-storey administration centre, a health clinic and workshops. Work is for completion in two years.

UK firm wins major consultancy contract

THE CONTINUING success of British consulting companies in the Libyan market was underlined by the disclosure in March that Davy McKee Oil and Chemicals of the UK has won the management consultancy contract for the major new fertiliser complex to be built at Sirte.

The contract, thought to be worth £10 million, covers management consultancy work, management supervision and technical assistance. A contract for the construction of the fertiliser plant was signed in January. The complex will include two ammonia plants, two urea plants, a nitric acid plant and an ammonium nitrate plant. According to the Jamahiriya News Agency on 15th January, the complex will make Libya the largest producer of fertiliser in the Mediterranean region.

No let up in construction boom

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's ambitious programmes of social and economic development have entailed construction activity on a scale unprecedented for the formerly impoverished north African country. Recent weeks have seen no let up in the pace of development. A turnkey contract for about 170 buildings in Misrata has been won by Makedonija Invest Delovno of Yugoslavia, reported *Middle East Economic Digest* on 6th March. The contract, valued at \$180 million, entails the design and construction of 80 apartment blocks, about 30 schools, sports centres, shops, roads and other infrastructure. Work is for completion in about 30 months.

MEED also reported that tender documents to build a \$500 million new town at Marsa Brega, the location of one of the Jamahiriya's major petrochemicals complexes, are expected to be issued shortly. The new town, to house workers at the complex, will be divided into six neighbourhoods and will house 45,000 people by the end of the first construction phase in 1985. The first phase entails the construction of 1,200 homes, schools, mosques and related infrastructure. The contract is expected to be awarded in time for construction to start by the end of the year.

In February it was announced that plans have been drawn up for important urban development schemes at Essa, Maya, Souk, Alalika and Tazerbo. The hope is that the enhancement of the environment in these small towns in rural areas, and the creation of new job opportunities, will encourage residents not to move to the Jamahiriya's major cities. To halt, and eventually reverse, migration from the countryside to the cities has been a consistent aim of Libya's planners.

Record year for Libyan Arab Airlines

LIBYA'S NATIONAL carrier, Libyan Arab Airlines, last year carried 1,169,957 passengers, a 10 per cent increase over 1979 and an all-time record, the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA reported in February.

Focus of the airline's operations is Tripoli's modern international airport, where increased traffic has necessitated expansion. In February it was announced that South Korea's Samsung Construction Company has won



Dairy farming in Libya: Meeting consumer demands

a \$54 million contract to provide an additional 150,000 square metres of parking space for aircraft. Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners of the UK is consultant for the work.

Health services will have 29 new hospitals

WITH AN announcement on 13th February by the Jamahiriya's Health Secretariat that the 1981-85 development plan calls for the construction of 29 new hospitals, the ratio of 4.5 hospital beds per thousand residents seems set to increase dramatically. In 1968 the ratio stood at a mere 3.1 per thousand.

Reviewing projects planned and under way, the Health Secretariat said 200-bed hospitals were planned for Sabratha, Misrata, Tarhouna, Zahra and Ben Gasheer. 120-bed hospitals are planned for Bani Walid, Mazdeh, Brak, Awbaree, Mirzak, Sarman, Ujailat, Jamil, Ghadames, Houn, Ghat and Nalout. In addition, a 400-bed sanatorium for the mentally handicapped is planned for Swaneer, reported the Health Secretariat.

A 200-bed hospital at Sirte will be fully equipped for its official opening in a few months, the statement continued, and a 1,200-bed mental hospital is under construction in Tripoli. Health care facilities in the Libyan capital will also be enhanced by the construction of a 500-bed accident surgery hospital, the contract for which has just been signed.

The Health Secretariat also reported that feasibility studies are under way for two specialised tuberculosis hospitals; that planned for Tripoli will have 200 beds.

Dairy and poultry plant for Taourgha

LIBYA HAS a long-standing commitment to reducing the country's dependence on food imports through an intensive development of agriculture and agro-industries. The Jamahiriya remains particularly heavily dependent on imports of manufactured foods, however, with only about 27 per cent of demand being met by local production. By the middle of the decade it is planned that this proportion will have risen to 35 per cent.

The latest project aimed at self-sufficiency in processed foods is a milk products and poultry processing plant to be established at Taourgha, about 60 kilometres south of Misrata. In February it was announced that the Dutch agro-industrial group HVA has won a \$129.9 million contract to supply and manage the plant, which will produce 5.5 million broilers per year and 9,000 litres of milk per day from 600 milking cows. The scheme will be totally integrated and will include an animal feed mill, milk processing and bottling plants, a poultry slaughterhouse and a yoghurt-making plant. The project should be oper-

ational within 30 months. HVA's management contract is for five years, starting one year after construction begins.

Further expansion for Garyounis

IN THE latest move to enhance the facilities at Benghazi's ultra-modern Garyounis University, South Korea's Daewoo Development Corporation has signed a \$82.4 million contract to build the faculty of science. The company also has a letter of intent for a \$40.2 million dormitory extension and a \$19.5 million printing complex at the university.

Textile production increases

THE ANNOUNCEMENT in February that the Derna ready-to-wear clothes factory produced 280,408 articles of clothing last year highlights the rapid expansion of the Jamahiriya's textile industries. Further confirmation of this trend came with the disclosure in the same month that, following the installation of new plant at the Misrata textile factory, production in January was nearly double the December figure. 4,500 items were produced compared with 2,600 the previous month. Output is expected to increase still further when 36 new looms go into operation in March.

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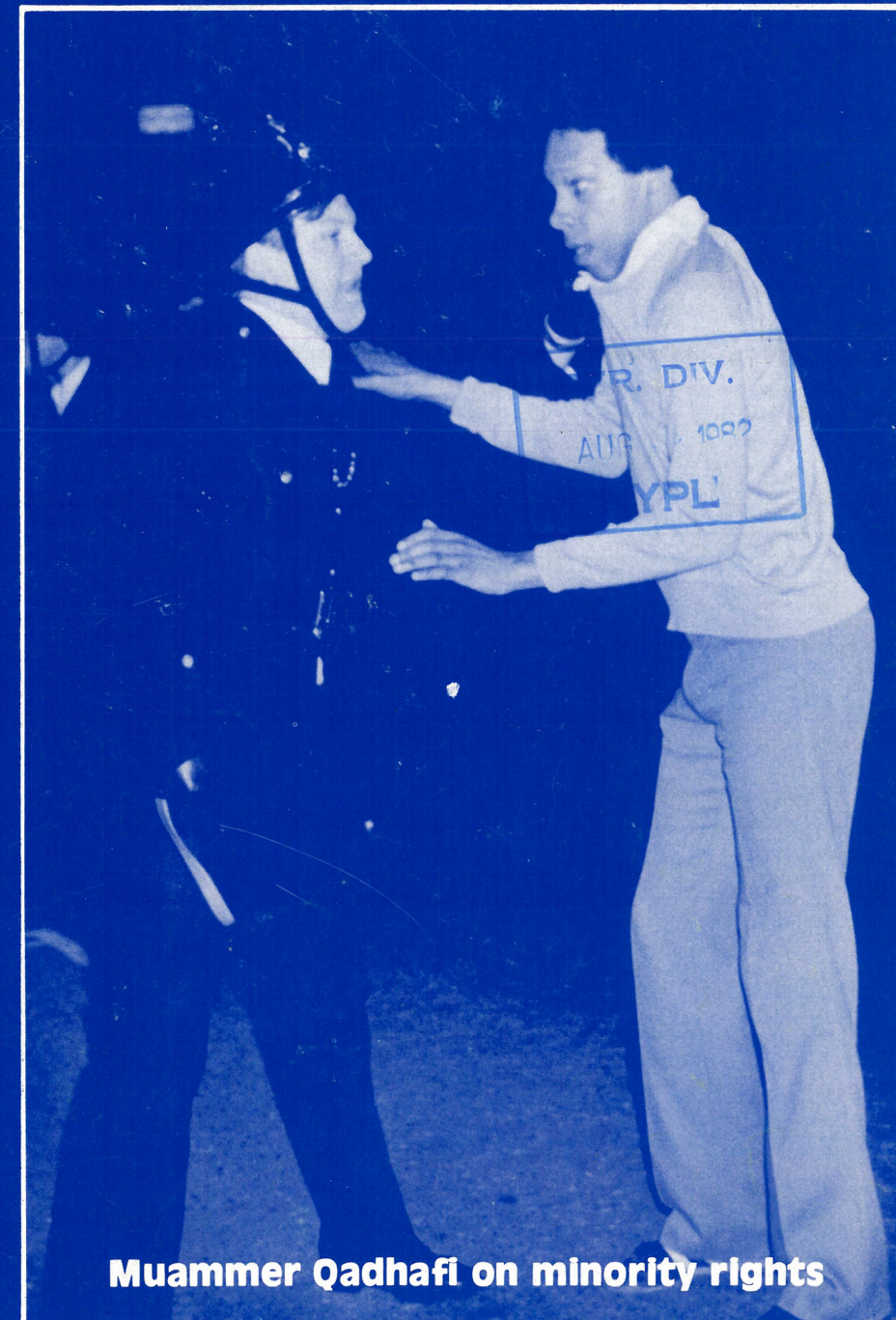
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